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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF  
SOCIAL CLASSES

**STUDIES IN PUBLIC OPINION**

A series under the editorial sponsorship of *The Public Opinion Quarterly* and directed by a committee consisting of Gordon W. Allport, Hadley Cantril, W. Phillips Davison

# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL CLASSES

*A Study of Class Consciousness*

BY RICHARD CENTERS



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## PREFACE

THE problem of class consciousness has been long neglected by psychologists, to the great detriment of all the social sciences. The vacuum created by ignorance has needed to be filled so badly that opinion and impression have tended to gain a wider confidence than they deserve and to have been regarded almost as fact.

This volume is not another treatise of opinion. It is primarily a research report which attempts to analyze and interpret empirical data gathered with specific reference to the problem of class consciousness in public attitude surveys carried out in 1945-1947.

The task of making the body of data secured in these researches intelligible to serious students of the problems posed by the existence of socio-economic stratification has not proved easy or simple. The author has tried to write a book that specialists might respect but which might also prove readable to the intellectual public at large, for concern with such a vital matter that touches daily the lives of all of us is wide.

The attempt has been made to give meaning to the facts disclosed in the investigations by relating them to a central idea of social classes, a theory which has been derived from the older writings on the subject, and which the writer has called the interest group theory of class structure. The book thus constitutes in essence a defense of this interest group thesis in terms of the factual evidence the research has made available.

It is not supposed that the value of the material is without its limitations or that the quantity of it leaves nothing to be desired. Scientists have an insatiable thirst for facts and will be quick to seek more and more. This researcher has made the best of what could be gained in the kind of studies a research budget of only a few thousand dollars could afford. Naturally, only some of the questions surrounding such a vast problem have been answered, and the answers offered are to be regarded as tentative and subject to revision whenever new research demands it.

Without the cooperation of several people this volume would not exist. The writer's debt to Dr. Hadley Cantril, director of the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University, is truly great. Seldom has one man done so much for another. In his several roles as teacher, professional colleague and friend, Dr. Cantril has rendered invaluable services. Not only was it through him that funds to carry out the project were found and the facilities of the Office of Public Opinion Research made available, but he also contributed valuable suggestions in the formulation of the problem itself, as well as in its analysis and interpretation. Also he has critically read and reread the manuscript and given helpful advice as to its revision.

Several others have been of great service in the latter way also. Dr. Gordon W. Allport, Mr. Lloyd Free, Mrs. Marian Centers, Mrs. Elizabeth Herzog and Dr. George Horsley Smith have each read the manuscript and have made many valuable suggestions toward improvement of its clarity and readability. If the writer has not succeeded in producing a clear and readable volume the fault must lie wholly with himself.

Drs. Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore have both contributed suggestions for the gathering of material that have helped in throwing light on certain sociological aspects of the problem. Several others have helped in clearing up technical details in the treatment of data.

Marian Centers has given ungrudgingly and enthusiastically of her time and talent in the construction of charts, and in typing various drafts of the manuscript, and throughout the whole task of this product has been a most loyal and inspiring ally.

R. C.

*Rutgers University  
October 1947*

# CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
CHAPTER I	
INTRODUCTION—THE SOCIAL CONTEXT	3
CHAPTER II	
THEORETICAL CONTEXT: SOME KEY CONCEPTS AND THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE	12
Social Stratification. Social Classes.	
CHAPTER III	
SOME PRIOR RESEARCH AND THE TASKS OF THE PRESENT ENQUIRY	30
CHAPTER IV	
TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES	34
Description of the Survey and Characteristics of the Cross Section. The Conservatism-Radicalism Battery of Questions. Stratification Variables Em- ployed.	
CHAPTER V	
POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA	55
Conservatism-Radicalism. Political Behavior and Economic Alignments.	
CHAPTER VI	
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS STRUCTURE	74
Significance of Class Identifications. Class Identifi- cations—the American Class Structure. Defini- tions of the Several Classes. Class Identifications of Occupational Strata. Criteria for Inclusion in One's Own Class. Criteria and Causes for Mem- bership in the Several Classes in General. Stratum and Class Differences in Criteria.	

## CHAPTER VII

THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE:  
A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Stratification Differences in Class Identification,  
Attitude and Behavior. Psychological Differences  
of Social Classes.

107

## CHAPTER VIII

THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE:  
A CRITICAL APPRAISAL (CONTINUED)

Stratum and Class Differences in Attitude and  
Behavior. Some Further Tests of the Interest  
Group Hypothesis.

125

## CHAPTER IX

OTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
SOCIAL CLASSES

Sympathies and Antipathies. Racial and Ethnic  
Prejudices. Religion. The Role of Women. Success  
and Opportunity. Satisfactions and Frustrations.  
Values and Desires. Concluding Comment.

141

## CHAPTER X

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF  
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: THE PROBLEM OF  
DETERMINANTS

Cross Comparisons of Occupation and Other  
Variables by Means of the Method of Contrasted  
Groups.

160

## CHAPTER XI

## THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINANTS (CONTINUED)

Relative Significance of Various Determinants as  
Indicated by Correlational Analysis

191

## CHAPTER XII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

General Techniques and Procedures. Stratification  
and Class Consciousness. The Nature of Social  
Classes. The Problem of Determinants. Com-  
ments and Qualifications.

206

## CONTENTS

ix

## APPENDIX I

SOME COMPARATIVE DATA: CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS  
IN SWEDEN AND FRANCE

221

Class Identifications in Sweden. Class Criteria.  
Class Identifications in France.

## APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON THE RELATION OF CLASS AND STATUS:  
A CRITIQUE OF SOME RECENT SOCIAL ANTHRO-  
POLOGICAL RESEARCH

226

## APPENDIX III

## SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

230

## APPENDIX IV

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

232

## REFERENCES

237

## INDEX

241



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Percentages of Persons in the Several Conservatism-Radicalism Categories Who Voted for the Republican Candidate (Dewey) in 1944	47
2. Per Cent of the Total Republican Vote in the 1944 Presidential Election Contributed by Persons in Each of the Several Conservatism-Radicalism Categories	48
3. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservatism-Radicalism	58
4. Attitude Differences of Urban Occupational Strata	63
5. Occupational Composition of the Upper Class According to Upper Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership	80
6. Occupational Composition of the Lower Class According to Lower Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership	81
7. Occupational Composition of the Middle Class According to Middle Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership	82
8. Occupational Composition of the Working Class According to Working Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership	83
9. Class Identifications of Occupational Strata	87
10. Comparison of Urban and Rural Definitions of the Middle Class	89
11. Comparison of Urban and Rural Definitions of the Working Class	90
12. Class Identifications and Politico-Economic Attitudes of Urban Occupational Strata	119
13. Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism	121
14. Stratum and Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism	127
15. Comparison of Two Definitions of the Working Class	136
16. Comparison of Two Definitions of the Middle Class	137

17. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their First Choices (Urban Population Only)	154
18. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their Combined Three Choices (Urban Population Only)	155
19. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their First Choices (Rural Population Only)	156
20. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their Combined Three Choices (Rural Population Only)	157
21. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Education to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	166
22. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Age to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	169
23. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Town Size to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	187
24. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Section to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	189
25. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Power Stratification to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	193
26. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Economic Stratification to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism	197
27. Class Identification and Socio-Economic Stratification	200
28. Conservatism-Radicalism and Socio-Economic Stratification	201

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF  
SOCIAL CLASSES



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION—THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

EVENTS have thrust a great class conflict—a struggle between management (or capital) and labor—upon us as the most serious and central social problem of our era. The ultimate issue of such a conflict in America as elsewhere, as many have seen it, is whether our social and economic order is to continue to be a predominantly profit-making, free enterprise system or is eventually to become a collectivistic one as have so many of the politico-economic systems abroad.

In Eastern Europe, communist-dominated governments are nearly everywhere in ascendancy. In Britain a socialist government has already for many months held power. In France recent elections have shown a communist group to be among the strongest of all that country's political forces. In Italy the situation seems equally serious. All Europe, in short, threatens to become communized, and many are predicting this as inevitable. Our own statesmen, indeed, are even now dedicating our major foreign policy to its prevention. America alone, of the great powers of the West, remains as a place where an individualistic economy clearly still holds the day.

The supremacy of free enterprise even here has been far from uncontested, however, and many have wondered, since the great labor upheaval burst upon us after V-J day, if America, too, might not soon be forced to a decision not unlike that reached elsewhere when class has been pitted against class. The symptoms of social unrest had become suddenly alarming and acute. Scarcely had the nation's people finished their first rejoicings at the vanquishment of the common foe when great sectors of them turned upon each other, so to speak, as foes themselves. Strikes became more numerous and involved more men than ever before in the long history of industrial strife. For days, for weeks, and sometimes for months, great portions of our basic industrial machinery stood paralyzed. So critical did the situation become in the 1946 railroad dispute between labor and management that President Truman asked Congress for the extraordinary

power of drafting striking workingmen into the armed forces of the United States in order to compel the operation of the trains.

It was, to be sure, a renewal of an old conflict on a grander scale, but not that alone. There was a newer and more compelling significance in this social cleavage now grown almost to the proportions and maturity of a full scale class war. The sound and fury carried in it undertones of an ideological ferment that might well be the precursor of deep and fundamental social changes. One might with more justification than ever before speak of a clash of philosophies and ideas as well as of interests and classes. Non-partisan aloofness had become an ever rarer phenomenon and had everywhere given way to an open and embittered partisanship. The totality of the population had become involved and had in effect aligned itself with one or another of the contending forces. It was no longer just the men in dungarees and overalls who "hit the bricks." White collar and professional workers hit them too. In Buffalo and St. Paul, as well as in a score of lesser cities, teachers closed the schools and struck for higher wages, and even their students not infrequently joined them in the picket line. No longer, moreover, were the issues confined to questions of only immediate and specific concern such as wages and hours. To many, labor seemed to be demanding not bread alone, but the power to dominate whole portions of our economic life. There were wide denunciations of its leaders as "power mad," and congressmen, indeed, openly and vocally feared "the rule of a class."

Strikes that stopped whole industries involving unprecedented numbers of workers, and the *esprit de corps* and solidarity shown in the number of sympathy strikes and protests, as well as in the pecuniary aid extended from union to union, afforded unimpeachable testimony of the workingmen's unity and determination. It was no wonder that people were shaken and alarmed. Reportage and public utterances from every side, saturated as they were with the news of social upheaval, created and sustained (quite unintentionally in many cases, perhaps) an atmosphere of rebellion and revolution, portraying

labor as the insurgent, while aligning the state with ownership and management.

For example, in an Associated Press news dispatch of May 23, 1946, Senator Reed (R.—Kan.) was quoted as having declared in the Senate that day that "monopolistic" labor unions were trying to "control government in the interest of one organized class":

"The Kansas Senator took the floor to urge action on pending labor disputes legislation as Senator Hill of Alabama, the Democratic whip, told a reporter he saw no reason why a measure should not clear the Senate this week.

"Reed told his colleagues that he thinks the time has come to write into law the principle that public welfare transcends the rights of any particular class.

"Today,' he said, 'organized labor, despite internal divisions, has a composite political power greater than any other economic class in the United States.

"It has been endowed with special privileges and immunities and powers of aggressive action which permit and actually encourage national unions to over-ride the police powers of local and State governments and even to over-awe the Federal Government with demonstrations of private force.' (57, p. 2)<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, Robert M. Wason, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, pleaded "to restore ownership and management to a position of equality with labor under the law." (57, p. 2)

It was only a matter of hours after such utterances that the situation became so critical that President Truman was driven to his aforementioned request of Congress for unprecedented emergency powers in order to break the then current railroad strike. This demand that striking workmen be compelled to operate the railroads by drafting them into forced labor brought home to the American people, perhaps more plainly than anything short of civil war could have, the frightening

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to the items in the list of references appearing at the end of the book.

realities of class conflict. The differential reactions to his proposal showed, too, the directions of men's thinking, for while the public spokesmen of a harassed ownership and management hailed it as a justifiable, courageous and even noble deed, labor's champions of the more leftist persuasion voiced their embittered protests, denouncing Truman as a "tool of capital and a fascist who would enslave workers in the interest of a ruling class."

To those who were watching and listening that day there could have been few incidents in history more dramatic than the climax of the railroad strike that came on the afternoon of May 25, 1946. With thousands of workers in the coal industry already on strike, a walkout threatening in the maritime industry and numerous other such disputes in key industries an actuality, the rail strike had begun on Thursday, May 23, after having been once postponed at the last minute of the deadline. The nation seemed almost as if in a state of siege. On Friday night of May 24, President Truman addressed the American people:

**"My fellow countrymen:**

"I come before the American people tonight at a time of great crisis. The crisis of Pearl Harbor was the result of action by a foreign enemy. The crisis tonight is caused by a group of men within our own country who place their private interests above the welfare of the Nation . . . .

"Lack of transportation facilities will bring chaos . . . .

"It is a time for plain speaking.

"This strike with which we are confronted touches not only the welfare of a class but vitally concerns the well being and the very life of all our people.

"The railroads must resume operation!

"In view of the extraordinary emergency which exists, as President of the United States I call upon the men who are now out on strike to return to their jobs and operate our railroads. To each man now on strike I say that the duty to your country goes beyond any desire for personal gain.

"If sufficient workers to operate the trains have not returned by 4 p.m. tomorrow, as head of your government I

have no alternative but to operate the trains by using every means within my power.

"I shall call upon the Army to assist the Office of Defense Transportation in operating the trains, and I shall ask our armed forces to furnish protection to every man who heeds the call of his country in this hour of need.

"This emergency is so acute and the issue is so vital that I have requested the Congress to be in session tomorrow at 4 p.m., and I shall appear before a joint session of the Congress to deliver a message on this subject."

The President of the United States had delivered an ultimatum. The people waited.

Not till the stroke of 4:00 the next day did the public learn the answer. The President had already entered the chambers of Congress and begun his address when he dramatically interrupted himself to make known the contents of a message which had just been thrust into his hand, and announced in grim solemnity that the strike had been settled "on the President's terms."

The railroad workers had been beaten. The crisis, for the moment, had passed, but the sullen and bitter capitulation of the trainmen's leaders gave solemn warning that the contest had far from ended. There was no humility but only bitterness and defiance in Whitney's<sup>2</sup> radio address to his men that immediately followed Truman's address to Congress. It was plain, in this man's outraged and implacable words, that only force and fear and threat and not understanding or justice had won this desperate and uneasy truce.

The struggle in America had reached a stage where one could not help but wonder if men were not finding loyalty to a class a bigger and nobler thing than loyalty to a government.

Of all this what could psychologists and social scientists say? What explanations could they give for this upheaval and crisis, what factors, material and psychological, lay behind it?

As yet woefully little could be said with any certainty because perhaps no area of social and psychological research has

<sup>2</sup> President of one of the striking unions.

been so neglected by American scientists as that of class conflict and class consciousness. No one has seen this better than the eminent sociologist Robert S. Lynd, who in a critique of American social science a short while ago, declared this to be among the most imperative problems facing social science today.

"Current social science plays down the omnipresent fact of class antagonisms and conflicts in the living all about us. It studies industrial strikes and analyzes wage differentials and the operation of trade and industrial unions and the machinery for collective bargaining. But it is careful, in the main, to keep the word 'class' out of its analysis and to avoid the issue of the possibility of the existence of fundamental cleavages which may not be remedial within our type of economy. Social science does this because the concepts of 'class' and 'class struggle' lead straight into highly inflammable issues. It is helped in so doing by the tradition that class divisions are un-American and that such differences as exist are transitory and will be eliminated by a rising standard of living and 'the general movement of Progress.' But such exculpating assumptions may not be justified. There is more than a little basis for assuming, on the contrary, that class divisions are endemic in our type of economy. If, as John Dewey has pointed out, the best way to handle certain traditional metaphysical issues in philosophy is to turn one's back upon them, the same may not be said of such an urgent reality as the class struggle.

"The body of fact and theory around the highly dynamic situation of class conflict will have to be much more realistically and centrally considered if social science is to deal adequately with current institutions.

"The issue here does not call for the lining up of social scientists on either side of this conflict situation. The need is, rather, to analyze closely and realistically this stubborn and pervasive complex of factors. There seems little doubt that class lines are stiffening in the United States. Where? Why? Around what frustrations and grievances? Among what people most and least? How does a class, and the acceptance of oneself as belonging to a class, feel and what does it imply

to differently situated persons? And how inevitable are these things? To what extent are people actually motivated, and the course of history determined, by economic factors?" (32, pp. 227-228)

Lynd's concern with class in the dynamics of history is but one fortunate expression of a feeling widely shared at present by competent social scientists everywhere. Almost coincident with his own critique, there appeared *Industrial Conflict, A Psychological Interpretation* (23) as the first yearbook of the newly formed Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues; a book which, containing as it did, contributions from representatives of most of the social sciences as well as from psychiatrists and business and personnel psychologists, demonstrated the truly impressive scope of this concern. Industrial conflict was viewed by many of the contributors to this volume as but one phase of a larger, more complete clash in interests between socio-economic classes, and several sectors of the work involved an examination of some of the very questions raised by Lynd. There had already been a scattering of sociological and psychological publications on the topics of social stratification and class, notable among them being the Lynds' *Middletown* (33) and *Middletown in Transition* (34) and Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (15), but *Industrial Conflict* was beyond question the most conspicuous scientific recognition yet given to this long neglected problem.

The schisms and social distinctions that a modern and unevenly growing economy produces are so many and varied and their effects upon man's life so all pervasive and extensive that they raise important problems for the whole range of social and behavioral science. A year or two after the publication of the SPSSI's<sup>8</sup> Yearbook, there followed some important and intensive studies of the "class structure" of American communities in both the North and the South by the group of social anthropologists led by Lloyd Warner. The "Yankee City" series of books (52, 53, 55) and *Deep South* (13) are the most notable examples of this work, which to date appears to be still going on. Jones' *Life, Liberty, and Property* (25)

<sup>8</sup> Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

and McConnell's *The Evolution of Social Classes* (35) are other works of recent origin<sup>4</sup> of primarily sociological character, though their concern with the ideological orientations or attitudes of social strata makes them to a rather large extent psychological contributions as well.

As the SPSSI's concern clearly shows, psychologists themselves have begun to be more and more aware of the fact that class consciousness and class divisions raise important and difficult psychological problems as to the conditions and consequences of membership in social classes and the antecedent socio-economic conditions that may be responsible for a given individual's adherence to one or another of them. No doubt, as Lynd suggests, a certain fear of exploration of such a highly dynamic and controversial subject as class consciousness, whose existence certain powerful groups have such a strong emotional and economic motive in disclaiming, accounts in considerable measure for the belated and seemingly forced recognition psychologists have given it. But the very magnitude of the problem and the scope of the research demanded have added their weight to the barriers retarding its analysis too. It is no wonder that psychological treatment heretofore is fragmentary and inconclusive and the evidence sometimes conflicting at crucial points. Though there have been several valuable exploratory attitude studies, most suffer either from having sampled an inadequate number of people, or from the limitation of their concern to only one or two aspects of this many-faceted problem, so that the resulting knowledge is thus of necessity incomplete and somewhat confusing.

To date, the works of those who have approached the problem with the techniques of public attitude survey have yielded the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of class consciousness. By far the most important prior studies of this kind are those of Kornhauser (28, 29) regarding the attitudes of Chicago adults toward certain important political and economic and other issues, and those of Cantril (4, 49) with respect to the social and economic class identifications of the

<sup>4</sup> Discussion or even listing of all writings that have to do with classes here would constitute so great a diversion of aim that only a few outstanding examples of work of recent date can be mentioned in this context.

national population. It is, indeed, to a certain extent from the respective findings of Kornhauser and Cantril that the present study derives its pattern and direction.<sup>5</sup>

In the present research the attempt has been made to utilize again a public attitude survey technique to throw light on some crucial aspects of the problem of class consciousness, and this book will describe, analyze and attempt to interpret in some detail the various data that have resulted from it. The effort will be made to portray the nature of American class structure and to comprehend some of the psychology of social classes today in terms of the responses of a cross section of the people of America themselves.

<sup>5</sup> Kornhauser's and Cantril's works are discussed more fully in a later chapter where familiarity with them is necessary background for the development of some specific problems raised in this study.

## CHAPTER II

### THEORETICAL CONTEXT: SOME KEY CONCEPTS AND THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE

THIS book is a research report primarily, rather than a treatise of opinion or theory, but all research stems from the desire to test some hypothesis, and is likewise conditioned in its pattern and direction by whatever ideas its instigator possessed when he began it. It will give added clarity and significance to the data which follow in later chapters if some note is taken now of what the writer means, as well as of what certain other persons have meant by the use of certain concepts that figure prominently in this report. *Stratification* and *class* are two such concepts that require consideration, for their meanings have become blurred by a certain amount of ambiguity and confusion.<sup>1</sup>

The writer is by no means the first to have recognized this, for the pronounced increase in interest in class among American social scientists is not manifested alone by the type of empirical inquiry noted in the previous chapter. Many others have become uncomfortably conscious of the amorphous character of the concepts of class and stratification with which they have had to deal, and, as a consequence, recent writings of a conceptual and definitive nature are even more numerous than those which report empirical fact. Despite the efforts of these treatises, class is still a poorly understood concept. Conceptions and definitions have been based mainly upon observations and analyses of whole cultures and civilizations in the large, and it is not surprising, in view of the unsystematic nature of these observations and the non-quantitative character of the data, that incomplete agreement obtains as to their meaning and significance.<sup>2</sup> There is comparatively much greater agreement as to the meaning of stratification than there is as to that of social classes:

#### *Social Stratification*

“SOCIAL STRATIFICATION,” according to Sorokin (44), “means the differentiation of a given population into hier-

archically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very existence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influence among the members of a society."

Stratification is assumed to be a permanent characteristic of any organized social group. Its essentially *natural* character is presumed by many to be a consequence of the innate and ineradicable differences among men. However, many theorists admit that in very large measure the strata of wealth, prestige and power found in modern societies depend upon the very conditions of the economic life of those societies, and may to a very large extent be regarded as socially and economically produced. Sorokin and others assert the universality of stratification along some lines or other among all human groups. Some even find analogies in the animal world.

In pre-literate human tribes, for example, except perhaps in the few cases where the members of a population are leading isolated existences, and where no permanent social life and interaction exists, and where, therefore, there is no social organization in the proper sense of the word, some form of stratification seems always to be found (44). There are, first, the various age and sex groupings with their quite definite privileges and duties. Then there usually exists, also, some form of leadership, which, though spontaneous and informal in the simplest types of societies, such as that of the Andaman Islanders, later becomes institutionalized and hereditary in the more complex cultures, so that there are chiefs, headmen, kings, and so on. As the societies become more complex, so too do the systems of stratification, taking on an essentially economic and class character as the techniques of production and exchange demand a more and more detailed division of labor and function among the constituents of the society.

In modern societies the forms of socio-economic stratification are various and numerous. Sorokin believes that the majority of these may be reduced to three principal types: the economic, political and occupational. These, in turn, are so intercorrelated with one another that they can be only ab-

strictly or conceptually separated. Usually the individuals who occupy the upper strata or stratum in one respect happen in considerable measure to be in the upper strata or stratum in other respects also.

The term *economic stratification* in a general sense is used to refer primarily to the gradations of wealth and income status that exist within a community, but other uses of the term are frequently encountered. Economic stratification may refer not only to the amount of wealth and income, but to the nature of the income or its sources; for example, interests and profits, rent, salaries and wages. It may also refer to the standard of living or level of economic consumption of the individual.

As for *political stratification*, Sorokin says, "If the social ranks within a group are hierarchically superposed with respect to their authority and prestige, their honors and titles; if there are the rulers and the ruled, then whatever are their names (monarchs, executives, masters, bosses, for example) these things mean that the group is politically stratified."

And, with respect to *occupational stratification*, "If the members of a society are differentiated into various occupational groups and some of these occupations are regarded as more honorable than others, if the members of an occupational group are divided into bosses of different authority and into members who are subordinated to the bosses, the group is occupationally stratified, independently of the fact of whether the bosses are elected or appointed, whether their position is acquired by social inheritance or personal achievement." Occupational strata may also be distinguished, of course, in terms of skill, amount of responsibility, degree of complexity of their work, or by some other criterion.

As can be readily seen, socio-economic stratification in a broad sense means simply the descriptive ordering of people into higher and lower categories with respect to some objective differential or differentia, primarily economic or at least quasi-economic in character. It is not necessarily implied that strata thus conceptually formed act or operate in society as cohesive groups. They may or may not do so. Some writers,

like Marx, have assumed that such was or would ultimately be the case because of the inevitable similarities of economic interests that persons similarly situated with respect to the means of production and exchange of goods and services came, he thought, to have. But such assumptions are not a necessary implication of the concept of stratification.

It has been indicated before that socio-economic stratification as defined by wealth, power and occupation is not the only kind of stratification found. Age, sex, abilities and talents, education and intelligence also may serve to differentiate individuals into higher and lower categories. Some writers have even thought of stratification in terms of a totality of invidious distinctions. Davis (14), for example, would define a man's social *position* in terms of some resultant of each of the single statuses or social discriminanda that a society might conceivably confer or have. Attempts to work out the criteria that would define *position* in such terms have not so far, however, gone beyond the exploratory stage (6). Most students, like Kornhauser (29), Lynd (33), McConnell (35), Cantril (4), and others have characteristically utilized a uni-dimensional type of stratification and have found it convenient and more or less feasible to employ some one or more of such criteria as income, economic status or occupation to define the strata whose attitudes they studied. Occupation seems generally agreed upon as the most satisfactory single index, probably because it is more objective than economic status (which depends to a certain extent on a rater's judgment) and is more easily and reliably ascertained than income.

Since stratification is merely a descriptive term for the existence of high and low in a society it is theoretically possible to have as many kinds of stratification as one can discover objective criteria for defining. It is a valuable and useful concept because of this very objectivity, and it is unfortunate that the word class, which involves something subjective, has so often been identified with it. Before essaying to make the distinction between the two words clearer, however, some consideration of what has been meant by social classes is necessary.

### *Social Classes*

#### *An Early and Formative View—The Marxian Theory of Class and Class Conflict*

ALTHOUGH the concept of class is a very old one, and had, for example, been employed by such ancients as Plato and Aristotle as well as by Late Roman and Early Modern writers, its philosophical significance did not become impressive until fairly recent times when the industrial revolution had set in motion the ideational ferment out of which philosophies of socialism and communism emerged.

Though Karl Marx, who made it the cornerstone of a philosophy of history, is thus not the originator of the concept, the emphasis it has and the role it plays today are so generally attributed primarily to him and to the various intellectuals who have followed him that his ideas have come to serve as a sort of frame of reference for later theorists and investigators. They thus necessarily constitute a philosophical background that must be understood in some detail in connection with the concept of social classes. Marx as polemicist and communist agitator, however, seems never to have attempted to state in any precise and definitive way just what he meant by a class, though we are told (9) that he had intended to do so in work that he never finished. In his writings he often tended to identify the concept of class with that of occupational stratum, frequently using the terms interchangeably (36). At other times he spoke of a class as *an organization of a stratum* (e.g. "This organization of the proletarians into a class"), and he used the term in a more completely political sense in other places. Further, though his concept was unquestionably basically economic or occupational, it was certainly not exclusively so, for he continually emphasized the differing conditions of life, interests and values that indicate the use of a wider idea of class, cultural and psychological in character.

Marx is generally recognized, not so much as unique author of the concept of class itself, as he is as promulgator of a conflict theory with respect to the role that classes play in social

movements and social change.<sup>1</sup> This is so inseparably bound up with his idea of class that to understand his concept of classes one must also understand his conflict theory. Always implicit in Marxian writings, and often more or less explicit, is the idea that social or economic strata, that is, people standing in a similar position with respect to the means of production and exchange, tend to find themselves possessed of common economic interests and problems and become conscious of their role and membership in a distinctive social group that constitutes a class.<sup>2</sup> The conflict of their interests with those of other strata or classes gives rise to class struggle, the struggle in turn to revolution and social change. But this conflict group thesis is better stated in Marx's (and Engels') own words. They say:

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

“Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

“In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

“The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

<sup>1</sup> It is not meant to imply here that the conflict theory was entirely original with Marx. The idea was implicit in many of the writings, not only of contemporaries but in those well before his time. It is the emphasis he gave it, combined with a complex of other historical matters that has gained him the peculiar place he has today.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat." (36, p. 9)

These, the bourgeoisie and proletariat, or capitalists and working class, were for Marx and Engels the two principal classes between which the major struggle was, or was to become, manifest. Yet they recognized more or less explicitly that this was an over-simplified picture and could not be asserted as an actuality but as a *trend*. There were other classes. To each they assigned an "interest" and role. Besides the Great Bourgeoisie or Capitalists, there were "the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie."<sup>2</sup> Against these, whom Marx and Engels spoke of as enemies of the *great bourgeoisie*, the proletarian or industrial worker also waged a struggle. They too "exploited" him: "No sooner has the labourer received his wages in cash, for the moment escaping exploitation by the manufacturer, than he is set upon by other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc." (36, p. 16)

Moreover, the situation was complicated by the existence of a struggle between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, where these were still found, and by the existence of intra-class conflicts which might themselves take various forms, including war. "The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries." (36, p. 18)

Again, with respect to conflicts within the proletariat: "This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels

<sup>2</sup> In various references to the "petty bourgeoisie" Marx and Engels included small tradesmen, "over-lookers" (managers, foremen, supervisors) handicraftsmen or artisans, and peasants.

legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself." (36, p. 18)

Despite these struggles, which Marx and Engels thought of as stages in a gradual development, they believed the maturation of economic conditions favored the ultimate alignment of society into "two great hostile camps" or classes. Dramatically their *Manifesto* sketches how the contest develops:

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is furthered by the improved means of communication which are created by modern industry, and which place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required cen-

turies, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years."

A final quotation from Marx and Engels will serve to bring out several points of importance, among them being a theory of *class recruitment*, both economic and psychological, and also succinctly state the role it was believed various classes were ultimately to play.

"Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

"The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own stand-point to adopt that of the proletariat.

"The 'dangerous class,' the social scum (*Lumpenproletariat*

*iat*), that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (36, p. 19)<sup>8</sup>

Such passages serve to show the comprehensiveness of the Marxian scheme, embracing as it does the several levels of class phenomena, economic, psychological, social, political, often with confusing effect. It is no wonder that so many followers of Marx have written volumes in the attempt to systematize the essential Marxian position more satisfactorily. Severally, they have made it clear that, to them, a class in its *objective* sense is the aggregate of persons playing the same part in, and standing in the same relation toward other persons in, that system of production and exchange of goods and services extant in a given society. As to the *subjective*, or psychological aspect of class, the essential ideas are embodied in a rather loose and general phrase, *class consciousness*, which seems to mean, not only consciousness of kind, or consciousness of membership in and feeling of solidarity with a group called a class, but the possession of common interests and a common political and economic outlook or orientation which the Marxists often call an ideology. More concretely and simply, the bourgeoisie or middle class is pictured as the defender of the prevailing order, as conservative, while the proletariat or working class is pictured in its more developed phase as hostile to that system of economic relations, as radical, and ultimately as revolutionary in attitude.

With regard to this subjective aspect of class and its distinction from the objective sense of the term, Bukharin, a recent Marxian theorist, has written most specifically and succinctly. He says: "Class psychology and class ideology, the consciousness of the class, not only as to its momentary interests, but also as to permanent and universal interests, are a result of the position of the class in production, which by no means signifies that this position of the class will *at once*

<sup>8</sup> It is a rather common practice for superficial treatments of the Marxian thesis to assert that Marx recognized only two classes. He is obviously here recognizing several.

produce in it a consciousness of its general and basic interests. On the contrary, it may be said that this is rarely the case. For, in the first place, the process of production itself, in actual life, goes through a number of stages of evolution, and the contradictions in the economic structure do not become apparent until a later period of evolution; in the second place, a class does not descend full-grown from heaven, but grows in a crude elemental manner from a number of other social groups (transition classes, intermediate and other classes, strata, social combinations); in the third place, a certain time usually passes before a class becomes conscious of itself through experience in battle, of its special and peculiar interests, aspirations, social 'ideals' and desires, which emphatically distinguish it from all the other classes in the given society; in the fourth place, we must not forget the systematic psychological and ideological manipulation conducted by the ruling class with the aid of its state machinery for the purpose of destroying the incipient class consciousness of the oppressed classes, and to imbue them with the ideology of the ruling class, or at least to influence them somewhat with this ideology. The result is that a class discharging a definite function in the process of production may already exist as an aggregate of persons before it exists as a self conscious class; we have a class, but no class consciousness. It exists as a factor in production, as a specific aggregate of production relations; it does not yet exist as a social, independent *force* that knows what it wants, that feels a mission, that is *conscious* of its peculiar position, of the hostility of its interests to those of the other classes. As designations for these different stages in the process of class evolution, Marx makes use of two expressions: he calls class '*an sich*' (*in itself*), a class not yet conscious of itself as such; he calls class '*für sich*' (*for itself*), a class already conscious of its social role." (3, p. 292)

#### *Some More Recent Representative Concepts of Social Classes*

Marx outlined his basic thesis of class a hundred years ago. It, like his economic theory, has since been often seriously

challenged. Rivals have usually attempted to modify his or to substitute their own concepts, however, rather than to deny his ideas completely. Because each writer on the topic has sought, like Marx, to impose his own vision upon us, social scientists today are not of one mind regarding it and are faced with a welter of sometimes conflicting views.

Marx and his followers' usage of the word class in a dual sense is particularly unfortunate, for it appears to have begotten two opposing schools of thought, with a variety of compromises in between. Since his time a multiplicity of definitions of social classes have been proposed. These range all the way from those of "objectivists,"<sup>4</sup> who identify classes with strata as defined by some objective criterion such as income or occupation, to those of the "subjectivists" who stress common interests and consciousness of kind as basic and essential factors.<sup>5</sup> Neither of these definitions at the present time is universally accepted.

The objectivists, since they define their classes in terms of some kind of social stratification as a criterion, differ from Marx essentially in neglecting the subjective factor of class consciousness as a necessary criterion of social classes, and further, in using various objective criteria not identical with his own.

The subjectivists, since they stress class consciousness as manifested in consciousness of kind and the possession of

<sup>4</sup> The objectivists have varied greatly both before Marx and after him in their criteria of class; some like Plato, Sallustius, Voltaire, Raynal, Guizot and others have meant by social classes the strata of the poor and rich; others such as Saint Simon, Pareto, Mosca, etc., have based their concepts on the power relations in society, using such terms as the rulers and the ruled, the elite and the masses, etc., to distinguish their classes. Still others such as Turgot, Bauer, Bucher, and McConnell have identified classes to a greater or less extent with occupational groups. Many writers, of course, use more than one of these, and some use criteria besides these (e.g. Veblen uses leisure and economic consumption, etc.). The Marxians, when speaking of classes in the objective sense, appear to employ several criteria to some extent, for the phrase "relationship to the means of production," in its broadest sense, appears to refer to the totality of relationships that inhere in the processes of economic life—the ownership or non-ownership of the means of production, the occupational division of labor, the source, kind and amount of income, the dominance-subordination relationships and so on. (cf. Bukharin and others.)

<sup>5</sup> cf. Mombert (38).

common attitudes and interests as essential conditions for the existence of social classes, differ from Marx in not emphasizing objective criteria in their definitions of class, and, of course, in their descriptions of the attitudes and interests of their respective classes.

Just as Marx readily assumed a set of interests, attitudes, values, and desires for his classes, characterizing the middle class or the bourgeoisie as conservative and the proletarians or working class as radical, so these subjectivists have also endowed each of their classes with definite mental attributes. Sometimes their ideas have closely resembled Marx's, sometimes they have conflicted with his. While the *contents* of their speculations and assumptions are themselves of considerable interest these are not nearly so important to note here as their general *form*.

A good exemplar of this type of theorist is Sombart, who "conceives of a social class as a group which, by its way of thinking stands for a particular system of economic organization."<sup>6</sup> This conceiving of social classes in subjective terms alone has important advantages to which some discussion must be given, but it is better deferred for a few paragraphs until certain other class theorists have been mentioned.

Various other theorists appear to differ from Marx chiefly in their disagreements with his views regarding the political significance of social classes as well as their role in the dynamics of history. Both objective and subjective factors are incorporated in their conceptions. For example, Sorokin and Zimmerman (46) are far from being identified with Marxian views, being on the contrary among Marx's critics. Nevertheless they take a position on class that, though it does not insist upon the revolutionary role of classes as Marxists do, seems to be essentially similar in basic conception. They say: "By social class, as the term is used here, is understood the totality of individuals whose occupation, economic, and socio-political status (rights and privileges, duties and disfranchisements) are closely similar."<sup>7</sup>

"There is no need to say that each of these 'social co-ordinates' is a very important factor in determining and shaping

<sup>6</sup> cf. Mombert (38).

<sup>7</sup> Italics in original.

the behavior and relationships of an individual or of a group of individuals. It is certain that the economic position, wealth, or poverty, of a man exerts an enormous influence on his body and soul, his behavior and psychology, and his relationships and destinies. The same may be said of a man's occupation. It also applies in regard to his allegiance to a privileged or to a disinherited social position. If each of these elements represents an enormous factor in man's behavior and relationships, still greater is the role of all three factors combined. Man's economic, occupational, and socio-political positions practically are responsible for the most of the traits of his 'acquired' personality. Directly and indirectly three-quarters of such traits as education, manners, customs, beliefs, tastes, convictions, ideas, traditions, and so on, are decisively determined by these three statuses. The same may be said of any one group. Paraphrasing the old proverb, we may say: '*Tell me what is the occupation, economic status, and the socio-political position of a person or of a group and I will tell you the principal peculiarities—behavior, psychology, antagonisms and solidarities, and other important characteristics—of the person or of the group.'*' (46, p. 61)<sup>8</sup>

It is by no means easy to determine, in many cases, whether a particular individual is to be called an objectivist or a subjectivist or both. The subjectivists are likely occasionally to use objective criteria to describe their classes, while the objectivists may define their classes in objective terms and then go on to describe their psychological characteristics in such a way that one cannot be at all sure that both objective and subjective criteria were not employed in the first place.

The consideration of the similarities and differences of all the various other existing conceptions and definitions of class would involve discussion of voluminous length. But little clarification of the basic problem would be gained by such a philosophical or literary excursion. Most other views on class differ so little in *basic essentials* from those already singled out as formative and representative that no real sacrifice is entailed by their omission.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Italics not in original.

<sup>9</sup> An exception to this statement is the view of those who identify the

Nor is it necessary here to more than remark on some minor usages of the term class that have created considerable confusion among laymen, but which have gained no particularly important following among social theorists. There has been such a plethora of uses of the term in the less scientifically precise and more literary type of writing that it has tended to become practically synonymous with the word group. One finds, for example, such usages as intellectual class, leisure class, propertied class, wealthy class, the professional class, the business class and a host of others. If the word people, stratum, group or even kind were substituted for the term class in such cases far less misunderstanding would result.

*A Psychological View of Classes and the  
Interest Group Theory*

The conceptions that have been presented in the foregoing pages have been chosen as representative of the most outstanding views on social classes extant in previous writings. Unfortunately, in all of them except those of the pure subjectivists, classes are improperly and confusingly identified with social strata. Even though some like Marx, Sorokin and Zimmerman and others seem to have recognized a distinction between the terms at one place or another in their writings, the places where they have done so seem to be more exceptional than typical, and their frequent practice of using the words interchangeably has not promoted distinction between the concepts, but confusion of them.

It seems to the writer that much confusion can be avoided and great simplicity of conception gained if one always dis-

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concept of class very closely with that of status or social rank (e.g. that of W. Lloyd Warner and his associates). Though this view is certainly not unimportant it would possibly confuse the reader if the attempt were made to discuss it at this particular point. A note concerning it is included in Appendix II. It can be said here without too great a digression, however, that most class theorists have either explicitly or implicitly recognized a hierarchical aspect of social classes, so that the point of view of those who are distinguished by stress on this factor is not necessarily in opposition to theirs, but notable mainly because of emphasis on rank and neglect of other factors.

tinguishes clearly between stratum and class. Stratification is something objective; it derives, as has been indicated before, primarily from the economic system that happens to prevail in a given culture. The process of getting a living imposes upon people certain functions, statuses and roles. That is, by virtue of the patterning demanded by a particular technological development people come to have differing occupations and roles, to have differing amounts of wealth and differing amounts of economic and political power. Social and economic groupings and categories of people distinguished on the basis of occupation, power, income, standard of living, education, function, intelligence or other criteria are easily and properly denoted by the terms stratum and strata.

*But these strata, as some have seen, are not necessarily classes.* Classes are psycho-social groupings, something that is essentially subjective in character, dependent upon class consciousness (i.e. a feeling of group membership), and class lines of cleavage may or may not conform to what seem to social scientists to be logical lines of cleavage in the objective or stratification sense.

Class, as distinguished from stratum, can well be regarded as a *psychological* phenomenon in the fullest sense of the term. That is, a man's class is a part of his ego, *a feeling on his part of belongingness to something*; an *identification* with something larger than himself. More even than being an American or Frenchman, or being a Texan or Californian, Lion or Rotarian, Methodist or Episcopalian, it is an entirely subjective kind of membership, for it is marked or recognized by no external or objective insignia or badges of institutional membership whatever. To be sure, others may think of a man, because of his economic and social attributes, as belonging to a class different from that to which he feels he really belongs, and though knowledge of such ascription must form an important part of his frame of reference and have an enormous, perhaps determinative, influence upon the identification he does make, he is ultimately bound, it would seem, only by his own feeling of loyalty and by his own interests and values.

That these psychologically based groupings exist in our culture seems undeniable, for there are behavioral manifestations on every hand which can be noted by any alert social psychologist or other observer. But one need not assume any particular set of such psychologically defined social groupings for his own or any other culture. In fact, one need not accept anything more than the possibility of their existence to start with. It can then be determined by research whether or not they do exist, and in the same way their actual nature and properties can be described, their number and variety ascertained, and their relations to other phenomena discovered.

The limiting of the meaning of the word class to the denoting of groupings of the population distinguished on the basis of self-affiliation may seem arbitrary to some. But there must be some way of distinguishing such internally cohesive and genuinely functional social groupings from the purely conceptual or logical categories that we describe in terms of some objective criterion or criteria and can easily and conveniently use the word strata to denote. We have here two entirely different phenomena. Why not use two entirely different terms for them?

The views of Marx and his followers, as well as the ideas of his critics that resemble his so much in form, contain much that is stimulating and provocative. They and the subjectivists alike, however, by attributing specific psychological characteristics to the various strata of the population they conceive as classes, beg a whole question that must be decided by empirical and quantitative research. The assumption of these writers that the ascriptions of class they form conceptually have objective validity may not be in accord with reality at all. The ideas these men have given expression to have an enormous importance for a modern psychology of social classes, however, for severally they do contain in themselves a theory, an interest group theory of social classes.

*This theory implies that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society imposes upon him certain attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere. It holds, further, that the status and role of the individual in relation to the*

*means of production and exchange of goods and services gives rise in him to a consciousness of membership in some social class which shares those attitudes, values and interests.*

It should be emphasized that the writer has formulated here an hypothesis concerning the relationship between stratification and class consciousness, and not a definition of social classes. This theory with which we have been provided by the ideas embodied in the older conceptions of class is a most valuable one, for it can be tested in scientific and empirical research. Instead of assuming that socio-economic strata are group conscious and are possessed of mental attributes that distinguish them from others, empirical inquiry can be undertaken to determine the actual state of affairs. The data which are treated in this volume constitute one such test of this interest group hypothesis. Important questions which this research attempts to answer are such as these: Does class consciousness exist in our society, and if so, in what fashion is it manifest? What strata of the population does it principally divide? With what attitudes and beliefs is it correlated? By what frustrations, antagonisms and grievances is it accompanied? Upon what criteria is it based? By what subjective and objective conditions is it determined?

## CHAPTER III

### SOME PRIOR RESEARCH AND THE TASKS OF THE PRESENT ENQUIRY

ALREADY there have been accumulated certain evidences that relate more or less directly to the interest group theory of classes outlined above as a result of the studies of other psychologists concerned with the psychological aspects of socio-economic stratification. For example, Kornhauser (29) and others have attempted to discover the differing social, political, and economic orientations presumed to grow out of the differing economic and occupational situations in which individuals were placed, and Cantril (4) and others have concerned themselves with the class identifications or self-allocations to membership in social classes that might be found.

Though several other reports have indicated that socio-economic strata are characterized by important political and economic attitude differences, Kornhauser's appears to have been the most successful and thorough study to date. (His comparisons between upper and lower occupational groups characteristically showed large differences in attitudes, often of the order of 30, 40, or 50 per cent. The lower groups inclined decidedly more toward social change in a liberal or radical direction, as manifested by attitudes favoring strong labor unions, redistribution of wealth, government ownership of industry, approval of the New Deal, etc. There were also large differences among the socio-economic groups with respect to personal satisfaction and discontent, with much greater discontent being manifested in the lower occupational and income groups.)

Though there would seem to be considerable support for the interest group theory of class consciousness in such findings, the class identification data gathered by the *Fortune* Surveys (58), by Gallup (18) and by Cantril (4) seemed to contradict this interest group view. Gallup, in a 1939 survey, found 88 per cent of the people saying they were middle class.

while only 6 per cent claimed membership in either the upper or lower classes. *Fortune's* data, collected in 1940, showed 79 per cent of people identifying themselves with the middle class, and Cantril's analysis of 1941 data concerning the relation between income group and social class identification discovered almost nine-tenths, or 87 per cent, of people saying they were middle social class. Cantril also found that almost three-fourths asserted that they belonged to a middle income group. The correlation between social class and income group, though positive, was only .49, however, with 43 per cent of the people regarding their social class as one or more steps higher than their income level. A later report (49), which treated the same data in relation to occupational stratification, while showing some stratum differences in the expected direction, nevertheless indicated that a majority of the American people within each of eight occupational groups identified themselves with the middle social class, that nearly nine out of every ten business executives, white collar, or skilled workers, farmers, or professional people so identified themselves, while five out of six of the semi-skilled, unskilled workers or servants made the same identification.

Although these findings appeared to be explained in part as the effect of a very high aspiration level which might tend to induce a person to identify himself with those above him in socio-economic status, they stood in sharp conflict with the findings of the attitude studies, with those of Kornhauser in particular, and lent little support to an interest-group view of class structure. The conflicts and differences in viewpoint that were found to exist would seem to be merely *intra-class differences of view* rather than differences of outlook between definitely separate classes. They would seem to be differences in the main between segments or sectors of a great middle class to which the majority of persons in our culture conceived themselves to belong. And there would thus be little relation between the two aspects of class consciousness, that is, between politico-economic interests or orientations and the feeling of belongingness to a class typically sharing those interests and orientations.

To the writer, the acceptance of such a view seemed pre-

mature and unwarranted, primarily because the class system in which the individual was asked to place himself, though logically or conceptually a meaningful one, was, nevertheless, not a very realistic one, for it did not take adequate account of the class names actually in use among the population, particularly the manual labor section of it. People of this stratum, at least as known through general observation, typically refer to themselves as the "working class," or as the "working people," or as the "working class of people," and as "labor," or the "laboring class of people." The term lower class, which is often used by social scientists to designate this stratum, has gained no wide currency, probably because it implies too much inferiority. Being a worker, on the other hand, far from being universally looked down upon, may even indicate a valued attribute or virtue.

The conviction that it was primarily the terminology that was faulty in the identification studies was strengthened by the discovery that approximately 25 per cent of factory workers and a somewhat lesser number of general and farm laborers had replied to the effect that they used the terms working or laboring class when the 1940 *Fortune* Survey had asked: "What word do you use to name the class in America you belong to?"<sup>1</sup>

(*Fortune's* survey hastily concluded that because these people in the main later chose the name middle class, when they were requested to reply in terms of *only* upper, middle or lower, that they were, therefore really middle class after all. It could as easily have been inferred, instead, that they were merely avoiding the term "lower class."

It was decided that the major task of the present study should be a review of the whole matter of class consciousness as this might bear upon the interest group hypothesis of class alignment outlined in the preceding chapter. It was decided to reexamine the phenomena of class identification under a new condition that permitted the individual to choose among not only "upper," "middle," and "lower," but among these and "working class" as well, and also to inquire again into some

<sup>1</sup> A large proportion of *Fortune's* respondents, 27.5 per cent, replied that they did not know.

of the basic politico-economic attitudes that are characteristically regarded as indices of class feeling or class interest. Finally, both aspects of class consciousness<sup>2</sup> were to be studied in relation to the objective criteria of socio-economic stratification such as economic status, dominance-subordination and occupation.

At the same time it was believed desirable to inquire into desires and ends, into satisfaction and discount, into aspirations, into the individual's past experience of frustration of an economic kind, such as unemployment, and to determine as much about his origins, his religious and political affiliations, and his educational attainments as possible, in order to study the relation of such factors to class consciousness. To broaden the scope of what was conceived to be an essentially exploratory study, data were also obtained concerning the individual's attitudes toward other people in the occupational hierarchy and his feeling toward such minority groups as the Negro and Jew. Also, in order to determine how far a cleavage in attitudes, if found, might extend into the more general areas of the culture, several questions designed to test the adherence to or denial of such assumptions, cultural stereotypes, and norms as are claimed by experts such as Lynd (33, 34) to be basic elements in the structure of American culture were included. Finally, it was believed that something like an accurate picture of the class structure in terms of the people's own conceptions of it might be gained by the inclusion of questions regarding the occupational membership of each class and the more general criteria for them, as well as the criteria for inclusion in the respondent's own class.

<sup>2</sup> The term "class consciousness" has by usage come to have the meaning of both a feeling of membership in a class and the possession of certain attitudes, interests, ideas, etc., typical of some class.

## CHAPTER IV

### TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES<sup>1</sup>

#### *Description of the Survey and Characteristics of the Cross Section*

THE method decided upon for the present study<sup>2</sup> was that of a public attitude survey of a representative cross section of the adult white male population.<sup>3</sup> Such a method is peculiarly designed to give macroscopic, over-all results rather than the kind that might be obtained by studies of specific populations in limited areas under conditions allowing rigid control of variables. The over-all picture is still so vague and indistinct that clarification of it is an imperious necessity and certainly logically prior to studies of this latter type. The problem is of such a nature as to demand that great masses of people of every adult age group, of every section of the country, of rural, small town, large town and city residence, and of every socio-economic stratum be represented. In such a situation the technique of "making the nation one's laboratory" as the polling method in a sense does, appears to be by far the most feasible and satisfactory approach at the present stage of research.

Because of the requirement of staying within a limited budget it was necessary to restrict inquiry to what could reasonably be assumed to be the most important phases of the problem at this time. Because Negroes constitute such a small

<sup>1</sup> Those readers who are interested mainly in the results of this study and who are not concerned with how those results were obtained, that is, those who are willing to take methods for granted, might either skim through this chapter or skip it entirely since it is intended primarily for the technically expert (who take nothing for granted!).

<sup>2</sup> Although data from more than one survey are included in this book, those from a single survey conducted in July 1945 constitute by far the greatest part of it, and statements regarding method always refer to it unless specifically indicated as referring to some other.

<sup>3</sup> The study was carried out through the facilities of the Office of Public Opinion Research of the Department of Psychology at Princeton University, which, at the time (July 1945), had its own staff of trained and experienced interviewers in the field.

minority of the population and have in addition a caste-like relationship to the white majority to complicate matters, their class psychology could reasonably be regarded as a problem for later and separate study, and hence no Negroes were included in the survey. Women were not included because, in a research where stratification is the basic variable, it is important to get definitely placed persons as far as occupation is concerned, and women do not universally have occupations other than that of housewife. Moreover, it is so probable that their class position in our culture derives from that of their husbands or fathers that it is believed that more was gained than was lost in thus simplifying this initial survey by excluding them. Their class psychology must, of course, eventually be studied and compared to that of males, before one can have a very complete picture of the whole of such psychology.<sup>4</sup>

The method of sampling employed was that of quota control. The national population of white males of 21 years of age or over was apportioned to represent each section (New England, Middle Atlantic, Southeastern States, etc.) of the country as that section contributes to the total. Within each section there was a further apportionment in terms of urban-rural residence in order to get representation of those who lived on farms, those who lived in towns of under 2,500 population, those in towns of 10,000 or more and so on. In order to get a representation of all age groups these urban-rural groups were further divided into those above 40 and those under 40. Finally, the proper distribution of standard of living strata was obtained by further fractionation. Fifty per cent of respondents were "below average" in economic or standard of living status, 35 per cent were "average," and 15 per cent were "above average." The interviewer was, in addition, asked to grade the below-average respondents into two sub-groups, "poor" and "poor plus," and to grade the above-average people into an "average plus" group and a "wealthy" group on the basis of their apparent wealth.

<sup>4</sup> A certain amount of material relevant to racial and sexual factors has already been secured in studies conducted subsequent to the main (1945) survey, and will be treated in a future report when analysis has been completed.

A total of 1,200 interviews was assigned, but owing to unforeseen circumstances of various kinds somewhat less than that—1,100—were actually obtained. The “unobtained respondents” are not, however, heavily concentrated in any one section of the country, so the results are not likely to be seriously distorted. The east and west coastal areas are comparatively more under-represented than others, and some bias toward a more conservative outlook may be thereby introduced. (So the results to be presented suggest, at least.)

The actual interview schedule employed is in Appendix IV. Every question or group of questions, of course, was designed to test some specific hypothesis or to gain some item of information that would presumably be useful in analysis. Each question was tested and retested by trial and error by the writer, and later by others, in the field before being finally chosen for use. Many topics that it had been initially desired to investigate had later to be abandoned, because in the pre-testing it became clear that such issues could not be couched in language understandable to the general public. It is believed that what material was retained for the survey proper was understandable to them. Cost and other practical considerations imposed their limitations at every point, so that one can only feel jubilant that the data obtained are as extensive as they are.

The survey was initiated and completed in the two weeks of July 1945 immediately preceding the Japanese surrender to the Allies, that is, while the country was still at war. Thus, if one can assume that national solidarity at such a time was at a maximum, the stratum and class differences reported here may be somewhat lessened by this situation, and whatever conclusions are drawn from them will be based on conservative estimates. Beyond this, the only major event that one can suppose might have had an effect upon the attitudes and identifications here under consideration was the British Election and the sweeping victory for the Labor Party that was announced on July 26, 1945, about midway in the course of the collection of data. An attempt to gauge the influence of this event will be treated later in the report.

Besides these admitted sources of possible bias in the data

there are others. One is the well-known tendency for interviewers, despite instructions, to select too small a proportion of their assignments from among the lower strata of society. Persons classified as "poor" are all too often those from among the poor who are close to "average." There appears to be so strong a tendency for available interviewers to do this, despite instruction, that nearly every public attitude survey suffers in this respect. Such a bias, is, of course, against the finding of the kind of differences sought here. Again, conclusions will probably be based on conservative estimates. Another bias that operates in the same way is that introduced by the use of interviewers who were themselves from the professional and white collar strata of society that are characteristically described as "middle class."<sup>5</sup> Katz (26) has found that the use of "working class" interviewers obtains more responses in the radical direction where person-to-person interviewing is employed. One might suspect that on many of the issues of this study, also, laborers might be hesitant about voicing radical opinions to someone obviously not of their own kind, but that business, professional and white collar persons, on the contrary, might be encouraged to express conservative attitudes to people they might assume were in sympathy with them.

Not only is the cross section obtained a fairly representative one in terms of economic or standard of living strata of the population, with the exceptions already noted, it is also a reasonably accurate one in terms of occupational stratification. In Table 1 are compared the United States Census figures for the occupational composition of the white male population of the country (16) with those for the occupational makeup of the cross section obtained in the present study. Again a systematic bias must be admitted, for proprietarial, managerial and professional persons are all over-represented in the obtained sample, while wage-earning persons are generally under-represented. Still, the discrepancies between the actual cross section figures and the obtained ones are not of really great magnitude, considering the fact that occupation

<sup>5</sup> Because of the situation obtaining at the time this survey was made this was unavoidable.

was not specifically used as a criterion in selection of respondents, and that the occupational cross section is one obtained by sampling based on other criteria. In most of the results to be described, this systematic bias in favor of the upper occupational groups will play no significant role, since results in terms of percentages allow the comparison of occupational groups of different sizes quite easily and equitably, but those occasional figures for the over-all results will inevitably reflect this bias. It should be kept in mind when interpreting them.

TABLE I

A Comparison of the Occupational Cross Section Obtained in the Present Survey with That of the 1940 Census for White Males

Census Occupational Category	Per Cent of Total White Males	Per Cent of Our Categories*	Per Cent of Our Sample
Proprietors, Managers and Officials 11.0		Large and Small Business Owners and Managers ..... 17.3	-
Professional Persons ..... 5.3		Professional and Semi- Professional Persons ..... 8.9	-
Clerks and Kindred Workers .... 15.1		Clerical Workers ..... 13.8	-
Skilled Workers and Foremen ... 16.0		Skilled Workers and Foremen 15.6	-
Semi-skilled Workers ..... 18.8		Semi-skilled Workers ..... 16.5	-
Unskilled Workers ..... 12.5		Unskilled Workers ..... 7.4	-
Farm Owners and Tenants ..... 13.9		Farm Owners and Tenants ... 17.4	-
Farm Laborers ..... 7.4		Farm Laborers ..... 3.1	-
TOTAL ..... 100.0		TOTAL ..... 100.0	

\* The categories indicated here are those constructed for comparison with the census and are not the ones used in the actual analysis. There Large and Small Business are separated, Semi-Professional Persons are grouped with Clerical Workers into bined category labeled White Collar Workers, and Farm Tenants are combined with Laborers instead of with Farm Owners.

† A positive sign indicates that our sample contains too many of a given category; negative sign indicates that it contains too few.

### *The Conservatism-Radicalism Battery of Questions*

IN the main, results are treated in terms of responses to single questions. Though a given area, such as satisfaction with conditions of work and life, does have several questions devoted

to it, these are treated as single items rather than as a unit. While it is recognized that combination of them into a scale of some sort might have been undertaken, the advantage that might have been gained from a combination involving the four suitable items did not appear to justify the assumptions necessary or the additional labor. Only in a single and crucial area was anything like an attitude scale attempted.

In order to obtain a more comprehensive, more valid and more reliable index to the basic politico-economic attitudes or orientations commonly believed to be manifestations of class interests and values, a battery of six questions dealing with politico-economic issues was included in the stimulus material. Each item provided an opportunity for the respondent to indicate his orientation or disposition in either a conservative or a radical direction. The items below are those which constituted this battery; they are numbered according to their designation on the ballot (Appendix IV).

1. Do you agree or disagree that America is truly a land of opportunity and that people get pretty much what's coming to them in this country?
4. Would you agree that everybody would be happier, more secure and more prosperous if the working people were given more power and influence in government, or would you say that we would all be better off if the working people had no more power than they have now?
5. As you know, during this war many private businesses and industries have been taken over by the government. Do you think wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and that we would have fewer people out of work if the government took over and ran our mines, factories and industries in the future, or do you think things would be better under private ownership?
6. Which one of these statements do you most agree with? (1) The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own.

(2) The most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living.

7. In strikes and disputes between working people and employers do you usually side with the workers or with the employers?

14a. Do you think working people are usually fairly and squarely treated by their employers, or that employers sometimes take advantage of them?

In scoring, it appeared to be fair enough to give each item equal weight and to divide the population into conservative and radical groups on the basis of the consistency of their adherence to either position throughout the six questions. It may be that each question is not equally good as an index to conservatism or non-conservatism, but no more acceptable method of weighting is known to the writer, and none appears less arbitrary than that employed.

Not every respondent, of course, was willing to or could take a definite stand on every issue, and hence a method of scoring had to be devised which would take account of this fact in distinguishing the conservatives and radicals. Accordingly, the responses to each question were separated into three categories, namely answers that indicated definite adherence to a conservative position, those that indicated a radical stand, and a third category for those whose position could not be determined from the available data. This latter, indeterminate category describes those situations such as "don't know," "qualified answer," and "no answer."

Though a numerical score could possibly have been assigned to each person on this basis, it was not advantageous to do so, but because practically all of the other variables which had to be dealt with here were in the form of qualitative categories, it was more convenient simply to grade them into three main groups, Conservative, Indeterminate and Radical on the basis of the preponderance of any one of the three kinds of answers. The various combinations of the three kinds of responses are listed in Table 2. It was, in the writer's opinion, reasonable to define a conservative or radical as one giving at

least a preponderance of two such responses over any possible number of opposite responses. It seems unwise to describe a person with, say 3 conservative answers, 2 radical answers and 1 indeterminate response, as definitely conservative. This is likewise true of those cases where an individual has 3 radi-

TABLE 2

A List of the Possible Combinations of Three Kinds of Responses to a Battery of Six Items Concerned with Political and Economic Issues

CLASSIFICATION	COMBINATIONS OF RESPONSES		
	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Indeterminate</i>	<i>Radical</i>
Ultra Conservative	6	0	0
	5	1	0
	5	0	1
Conservative	4	2	0
	4	1	1
	4	0	2
	3	3	0
	3	2	1
Indeterminate	3	1	2
	3	0	3
	2	4	0
	2	3	1
	2	2	2
	1	4	1
	1	5	0
	0	5	1
	0	6	0
	1	3	2
Radical	0	4	2
	2	0	4
	1	1	4
	0	2	4
Ultra Radical	1	0	5
	0	1	5
	0	0	6

cal answers, 2 conservative answers and 1 indeterminate. He is not a conservative, but it would be hazardous to describe him as definitely radical.

As is indicated in Table 2, the conservatives and radicals have been separated into further subgroups in each case on the basis of the degree of consistency with which they adhere to either extreme. Sometimes, however, it has been convenient to treat the data in terms of only three groups. The "ultra" groups, of course, are defined as such strictly in terms of the obtained data and the labels, which are needed for identification, should be understood in relative rather than absolute terms.

### *Internal Consistency and Validity*

There may be those who wish to be assured as to the propriety of combining these six items into a battery, and as to the reliability and validity of the index thus obtained. Since a measure of correlation is the accepted method of stating the necessary relationships, the tetrachoric correlation coefficient has been employed. Statisticians (19, 22, 41, etc.) generally concede such a coefficient to be a reasonably close approximation to a product moment  $r$ , which one would, of course, have preferred to compute had the data been obtained in a form which permitted it. In computing tetrachoric  $r$  the necessary dichotomizing of distributions has in every case been made in the most reasonable way possible under the circumstances in order to minimize distortion of results.

In the attempt to ascertain whether or not the C-R battery might reasonably be regarded as a unit, the several intercorrelations between individual items have been computed, as has also the correlation between each and the total score. Thus one can determine whether there is adequate association of items for their use as a battery or such an insufficiency of association as to warrant the abandonment of one or several of them. It can be readily seen from Table 3 that a fairly high degree of association does obtain among the six items.<sup>6</sup> The picture is

<sup>6</sup> The distribution for each of these variables is dichotomized so that the conservatives are in one group and the indeterminates are included with the radicals in a "non-conservative" group.

TABLE 3  
Internal Consistency and Validity Data for the Conservatism-Radicalism Battery\*  
(Refer to text for more complete description of each item.)

	<i>Q<sub>1</sub></i> "Land of Opportu- nity"	<i>Q<sub>4</sub></i> "Working People's Power"	<i>Q<sub>5</sub></i> "Private vs. Government Ownership"	<i>Q<sub>6</sub></i> "Private vs. Government Ori- entation"	<i>Q<sub>7</sub></i> "Individual- ism vs. Collectivism"	<i>Q<sub>14a</sub></i> "Workers vs. Em- ployers"	<i>Q<sub>14a</sub></i> "Treatment of Workers"	Total Score	<i>Q<sub>28a</sub></i> Criterion
<i>Q<sub>1</sub></i>	"Land of Opportunity"	—	.14	.41	.35	.12†	.39	.49	.16
<i>Q<sub>4</sub></i>	"Working People's Power"	.14	—	.44	.51	.41	.33	.77	.41
<i>Q<sub>5</sub></i>	"Private vs. Government Ownership"	.41	.44	—	.68	.24	.29	.75	.53
<i>Q<sub>6</sub></i>	"Individualism vs. Collectivism"	.35	.51	.68	—	.37	.39	.88	.56
<i>Q<sub>7</sub></i>	"Workers vs. Employers"	.12	.41	.24	.37	—	.31	.61	.24
<i>Q<sub>14a</sub></i>	"Treatment of Workers"	.39	.33	.29	.39	.31	—	.72	.28
<i>Q<sub>28a</sub></i>	Total Score	.49	.77	.75	.88	.61	.72	—	.58
	Criterion	.16	.41	.53	.56	.24	.28	.58	—

\* The *N* for these correlations = 1097.

† The approximate probable error of the smallest *r*, (.12) in this table is .03, approximation obtained by multiplying the equivalent product moment probable error by 1.5—a procedure suggested by Garrett (19).

just about what one might anticipate on the basis of prior experience with such data. People who are conservative on a given politico-economic issue tend to be conservative on others, though one could not claim that the degree to which their behavior with respect to any single issue can be predicted is extremely high. The degree of association between any single item and each of the others varies, with the highest correlation being that of .68 between endorsement of an individualistic position on question 6 and endorsement of private ownership of business and industry on question 5. The lowest correlation is that of .12 between belief that "America is truly a land of opportunity" and siding with employers in strikes and disputes with workers. The additional low correlation, .14, between belief in America as a land of opportunity and belief that working people should have no more power is also low enough to make the item concerning America as a land of opportunity suspect. Yet, it is quite respectably correlated with the three other items, and these and other considerations led to a decision to retain it as part of the battery.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain the sort of evidence regarding reliability of the test that one would like, for gathering test-retest data for a public attitude survey, or for a comparable but smaller sample, presents serious obstacles of a technical and financial nature. To be sure one might give the test to college students and thus obtain a test-retest reliability coefficient, but the population is so non-comparable in such a case as to render the idea of dubious value to many. However, the correlations between each item and the total score in addition to the intercorrelations between items may well serve to suggest at least something concerning reliability.

Validity, again, presents difficulties. It is fairly common for those concerned with the measurement of conservatism-radicalism to administer their tests to some known radical group such as communists, and to infer the validity or lack of it from the degree of discrimination achieved between such a group and others. Since the writer knew no communist or other radical group that could be readily approached, it was decided to employ a conservative group instead. If one grants that Republican voters may serve as a criterial conservative

group, then an item in the present survey itself provides a usable datum for determining validity, for each individual interviewed was asked for whom he cast his vote in the 1944 presidential election, which occurred less than a year before the date of the interview. Thus one has a behavioral variable, which, though itself a fallible criterion of conservatism, provides not only a validation datum, but also throws some light on the relation of attitudes as determined by the C-R battery and the sort of actual behavior which may be supposed to be an expression of such attitudes.

In Table 3 is shown not only a validity coefficient for the total score, but one for each item of the battery as well. While the validity coefficients are not uniformly high, there is only one so low as to raise serious doubt as to the propriety of the retention of its item in the battery. Most of the others are gratifyingly high. In Table 4 are summarized some further data concerning validity which may also be of interest. Not only does the total score show marked discrimination between conservatives and radicals in voting behavior, but each item also shows considerable discriminative character. People who answered these questions in a conservative way voted, with

TABLE 4

Discriminability of Items of the Conservatism-Radicalism Battery and of the Total Score.  
(The indeterminate responses are excluded from consideration.)

		Persons Giving Conservative Answer Who Voted Republican		Persons Giving Radical Answer Who Voted Republican		Difference
		N	%	N	%	
Q1	"Land of Opportunity"	947	35	76	28	7
Q4	"Working People's Power"	464	48	515	23	25*
Q5	"Private vs. Government Ownership"	769	43	220	10	33*
Q6	"Individualism vs. Collectivism"	640	48	419	13	35*
Q7	"Workers vs. Employers"	207	46	349	18	28*
Q14a	"Treatment of Workers"	432	44	569	25	19*
	Total Score	534	50	231	9	41*

\*Differences marked with an asterisk are significant at the 95 per cent confidence level or higher.

but one exception, for Dewey in significantly<sup>7</sup> greater numbers than did those who answered in a radical way. Even in the exception noted the voting tendency is clearly consistent with that shown by each of the other items.

In Table 5 and Figure 1 still further illustrations of validity, in this case attesting to the validity of the gradations in the conservatism-radicalism scale, are given. The increase in the percentage of people who voted for Dewey is quite marked and consistent as one reads up the scale from ultra radical to

TABLE 5

Percentage of Persons in the Several Conservatism-Radicalism Categories Who Voted Republican in the 1944 Presidential Election

Category	N*	Per Cent Voting Republican	Differences Are Significant Between
1. Ultra Conservative	235	55	1 & 2,3,4,5
2. Conservative	299	46	2 & 1,3,4,5
3. Indeterminate	299	23	3 & 1,2,4,5
4. Radical	146	12	4 & 1,2,3
5. Ultra Radical	97	5	5 & 1,2,3

\* Does not include those whose ballots contained no answer as to voting.

ultra conservative, there being eleven times as many in the latter group as in the former in percentage terms. Figure 2 provides some further interesting comparisons in showing from what sort of persons the Dewey vote in 1944 came. *It is noteworthy that only 1 per cent of this vote was contributed by people classified as ultra radical in terms of the C-R bat-*

<sup>7</sup> Because of the relatively large number of significance tests that had to be made in this research, use has been made of a nomograph specially designed for testing the significance of differences obtained between percentages computed for various groups. The nomograph was constructed by Robert Hinshaw (24) and is based on the formula

$$d = 98 \sqrt{\frac{n_1 + n_2}{n_1 n_2}}$$

in which  $d$  is the critical limit of a difference between two percentages in different samples or groups,  $n_1$  is the size of one sample, and  $n_2$  is the size of the second sample. This formula, a conservative one, gives limits well within the 5 per cent level of confidence.

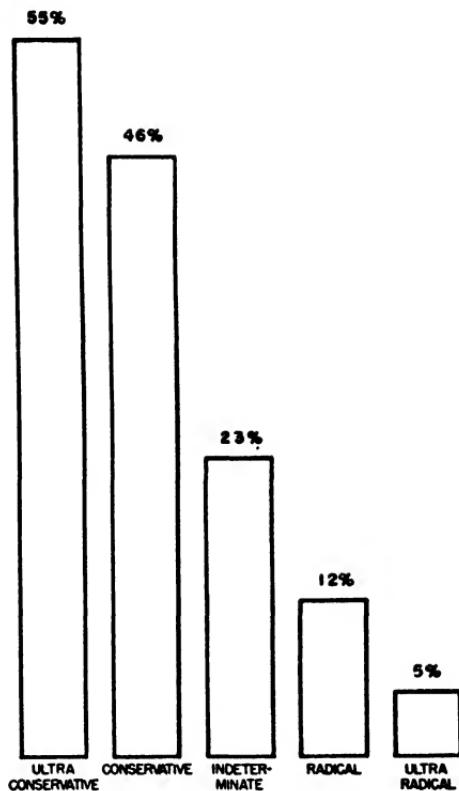


FIGURE 1. Percentages of Persons in the Several Conservatism-Radicalism Categories Who Voted for the Republican Candidate (Dewey) in 1944

tery, and that 94 per cent of people who voted for the Republican candidate were non-radical in such terms.

### Stratification Variables Employed

THE background data obtained provide several objective criteria of socio-economic status, for not only was each person rated by the interviewer for standard of living or economic status in terms of a five-step scale, Wealthy, Average Plus, Average, Poor Plus and Poor, but information was also obtained as to the respondent's occupation. Further, if he were an employer or manager the number of employees or sub-

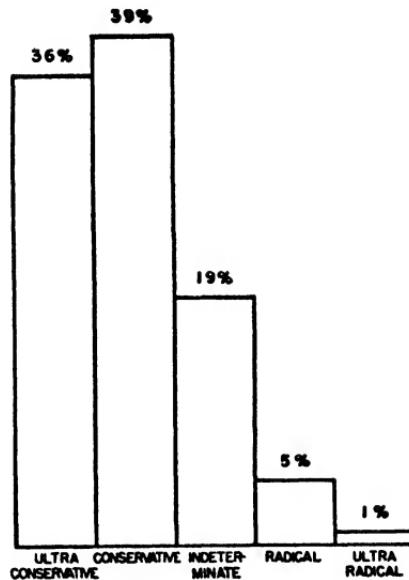


FIGURE 2. Per Cent of the Total Republican Vote in the 1944 Presidential Election Contributed by Persons in Each of the Several Conservatism-Radicalism Categories

ordinates was also ascertained. It was also noted, in the case of farmers, whether or not the person owned or rented his land or whether he was simply a farm laborer.

In classifying respondents according to occupation the ten categories listed in Table 6 were employed. These are so familiar to most persons as to require little explanatory comment. The categories form a hierarchy in terms of skill, responsibility and complexity of the occupational function or role in the total economy of production and exchange of goods and services.

The inclusion of managers with owners in the business groups is not entirely desirable, but in this cross section their numbers are too few to justify separate classification. The category "large business," it should be noted, does not describe a group composed of such giants as the Fords, duPonts, Rockefellers, etc., for the sample included none such as these.

Persons who are classified here under "large business" are much more modest operatives, for the most part being "small" bankers, "small" manufacturers, and "large" merchants. Those classified as small business may own or operate anything from a newsstand to a sizable drug, grocery or other retail store, though the latter are, of course, much in the majority.

Some classifications of occupation differentiate between photographers, laboratory technicians, draftsmen, designers,

TABLE 6

Category	Includes
<b>URBAN</b>	
Large Business	Bankers, manufacturers, large department store <i>owners and managers</i> , etc.
Professional	Physicians, dentists, professors, teachers, ministers, engineers, lawyers, etc.
Small Business	Small retail dealers, contractors, proprietors of repair shops employing others, etc. <i>Includes both owners and managers</i> .
White Collar	Clerks and kindred workers, salesmen, agents, semi-professional workers, technicians, etc.
Skilled Manual Workers (and Foremen)	Carpenters, machinists, plumbers, masons, printers, etc. <i>Includes foremen</i> . Also barbers, cooks, etc.
Semi-skilled Manual Workers	Truck drivers, machine operators, etc. <i>Includes, also</i> , service station attendants, waiters, countermen, etc.
Unskilled Manual Workers	Garage laborers, sweepers, porters, janitors, street cleaners, construction laborers, etc.
<b>RURAL</b>	
Farm Owners and Managers	Any person who owns or manages a farm, ranch, grove, etc.
Farm Tenants	All farm tenants and sharecroppers.
Farm Laborers	All non-owning, non-renting farm workers (except men who work on their own father's farm).

etc., on the one hand, and stenographers, bookkeepers, salesmen, etc., on the other, calling the former "semi-professional" and the latter "white collar" or "clerical." There is no particular justification for this differentiation, however, and for convenience they have been all grouped together here as "white collar workers." Some also have an additional category for "personal service workers" such as barbers, beauticians, bootblacks, bartenders, coundermen, cooks, waiters, janitors, porters, elevator operators, and so on. Such a classification is not employed here; rather, since these are all primarily manual workers, they are grouped with other manual workers according to whether their work is skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled in character. The farmers, irrespective of whether they are ranchers, fruit growers, poultry raisers or what-not are all grouped together. They have been classified into the three sub-groups listed in Table 6 on the basis of their economic role.

Sorokin and others have emphasized the power or political relations that obtain in economic life as a basis for socio-economic stratification. Since this survey provided information of a fairly detailed character regarding these relationships, it was possible also to classify persons according to a power or dominance-subordination hierarchy. Five groups were distinguished on this basis; namely, employers, managers, independents (self-employed workers and proprietors without employees), tenants, and employees (that is, workers having no subordinates, or *non-managerial employees*).

There are thus provided three different (though not entirely independent) indices to socio-economic stratification. Though all three have been found useful to some extent, the occupational classification has been employed in the major portion of the analysis of data because it is not only the most accurate and objective, but also provides the finest groupings of the three indices.

For reasons that will become much clearer later in the report, an operation has also been carried out which combines the three separate indices into a unitary stratification index or scale. The necessity for this step is treated more fully in Chapter XI. Here it will suffice merely to indicate the operations

involved. As is shown in Table 7, occupations have been ranked (irrespective of the urban-rural dichotomy) from 0, for unskilled workers and farm laborers, to 8, for large business. Similarly, dominance-subordination relationships are graded from 0, for employees, to 8, for employers. Likewise economic status groups are graded from 0, for poor, to 8, for wealthy. The scale values assigned, of course, are arbitrary, and are designed merely to transform rank orders into numerical scores. The assumption that the extremes of each hierarchy have equal value may not be entirely justifiable, yet it appeared to be about as equitable as any other in the absence of any way of determining the precise relationships. In any case, the value of such a scale is that it enables one to indicate an individual's *relative* placement in the stratification hierarchy when all three variables or dimensions of socio-economic status are taken into account, and as such it is useful.

TABLE 7

Scale Values of Categories of the Three Stratification Variables Which Are Combined into a Single Stratification Scale  
(See text for further details.)

Scale Value	Occupation	Scale Value	Power or Dominance-Subordination	Scale Value	Economic Status
8	Large Business	8	Employer	8	Wealthy
7	Professional	7		7	
6	Small Business	6	Manager	6	Average Plus
5	White Collar Workers	5		5	
4	Farm Owners and Managers	4	Independent	4	Average
3	Skilled Workers and Foremen	3		3	
2	Farm Tenants	2	Tenant	2	Poor Plus
1	Semi-skilled Workers	1		1	
0	Unskilled and Farm Labor	0	Employee	0	Poor

Moreover, since scores range from 0 through 24, a much finer gradation is obtained by such a scale than that which can be had by the use of any of the other single indices. An individual's score is obtained in each case by adding the numerical values assigned to each of his three statuses, occupational, dominance-subordination, and economic. A person who is a large businessman, is an employer and wealthy, gets the top rating, with a score of 24. An individual who is an unskilled or farm laborer, is an employee and poor, is assigned a place at the very bottom of the scale with a score of 0.

The reader will note that the occupational and dominance-subordination categories are not entirely independent dimensions. Yet they are not mere duplicates of one another. A person classified as large or small business may be either an employer or manager; an individual classified as professional may be an employer, manager, independent or employee. A skilled worker may be a foreman, in which case he is classified as a manager, or he may be an employee or an independent operator. Farm tenants, moreover, are not all classified as tenants in the dominance-subordination hierarchy, for some tenants employ others, and are thus classified and scored as employers in that part of the scale.

It has appeared sound practice, because of the great differences in conditions of life that obtain between urban and rural peoples, to note, nominally at least, a distinction between urban and rural strata in the tables and graphs. In a sense they almost constitute separate cultures, and mingling of the two samples might tend to obscure important differences in each. In the tables, figures for urban strata are given, not only for each reasonably distinguishable occupational category, but, it has seemed wise to compute percentages also in terms of two large inclusive strata, respectively labeled (1) Business, Professional and White Collar, and (2) Manual Workers. The former includes professional, white collar and both large and small businessmen. The latter includes the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

There are several reasons for this added labor. First, those writers who think of classes primarily in terms of occupational or economic groups have often identified their two

main classes with the members of two large strata in society roughly divided into business, professional and white collar (or "black coated") workers on the one hand, and manual workers on the other. The *Dictionary of Sociology*, for example, after discussing the history, evolution and supposed attitudes of the middle class, says: "Middle Class . . . today is a term designating a heterogeneous section of the population made up chiefly of small business men and small industrialists, professional and other intellectual workers with moderate incomes, skilled artisans, prosperous farmers, white collar workers and salaried employees of larger mercantile, industrial and financial establishments." (17, p. 193)

The working class is defined as: "The manual labor group in modern industrial society, occupying the lower ranks among the classes in point of income, status and surrounding conditions, and, by reason of the common concerns and problems arising out of its position, tending to form a more or less cohesive secondary group." (17, p. 340)

These, again, are the same strata that the Lynds, in *Middletown*, have named the Business Class and the Working Class respectively.

Though the dichotomy thus has justification from a conceptual standpoint, this is of less importance than a second reason, methodological in nature. The numbers in several of the sub-groups are uncomfortably small, and some may question the worth of conclusions based upon them. The more gross categories overcome this size difficulty, and can be defended as at least broadly representative. The retention of the finer categories, however, provides needed detail, and while one would certainly not dare describe them as *unrepresentative*, the most that need be claimed for them here is that they are *typical*.

The rural dichotomy may be regarded as roughly corresponding to that for the urban population. Farm owners and managers are by many writers often included in the upper or "middle class" stratum, while the farm tenants and laborers are often described as a rural "proletariat" or "working class" stratum.

In the analysis, percentage terms, because they permit a de-

tailed description of the data in an accurate fashion, have been employed extensively, though, where advantageous, relationships are often stated in terms of correlation coefficients as well. Where the over-all national cross section figures are also likely to be of interest, and where helpful in analysis, such figures have been included in the tables and charts.

## CHAPTER V

### POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

**T**HREE are two sets of psychological data sought and secured by this research that outrank all others in importance. These are the individual's class identification and his politico-economic orientation. It is these two variables that in the theoretical literature on social classes have figured most prominently as indices to a person's class consciousness.

The latter variable, the individual's politico-economic orientation (attitudes, beliefs and behavior) has traditionally been considered even more significant a manifestation of class consciousness than his group identification, to judge from the space in the literature devoted to its description. It may be that this is merely because theorists have not properly appreciated the significance of the feeling of belongingness until fairly recently, or it may simply be that group loyalties and identifications have been less observable. In any case, the consideration of politico-economic orientations first seems appropriate enough a place to begin an analysis of class psychology.

#### *Conservatism-Radicalism*

ONE question to be asked and answered with respect to an interest group concept of class is this: Do persons of differing status and role in the economic order (e.g. occupational strata) characteristically distinguish themselves from one another by the possession of differing points of view with respect to important political and economic issues? Are some characteristically demanding radical and fundamental changes while others typically assert the correctness of things as they are? In short, are some occupational strata radical and opposed in point of view to other occupational strata who are conservative?

An examination of the data presented in Table 8 and Figure 3 reveals at once that such differences are indeed present.

Whereas almost nine-tenths—87 per cent—of large business owners and managers are either conservative or ultra conservative<sup>1</sup> in political and economic orientation, only about one-fifth—21 per cent—of semi-skilled manual workers are so oriented. Again, although 55.5 per cent of large businessmen can be described as ultra conservative, only 2.5 per cent of unskilled workers can be found in this category. These differences are, furthermore, not confined to the urban strata alone, but are manifested between the rural occupational strata as well. The differences as far as ultra-conservatism is concerned<sup>2</sup> are significant between any manual group and any business, professional or white collar group. Some differences are significant within the business, professional and white collar set of categories; but though the gradation toward less ultra-conservatism is clearly continued within the manual groups, differences are not statistically significant within this set of strata.

The gradation in this occupational hierarchy from the conservative to the radical viewpoint is marked and for the most part in regular progression. The polarity of opinion is striking testimony to the antagonistic views that have been commonly supposed to exist. It is interesting, however, to note that whereas the top stratum has relatively few in it who fall within the indeterminate category, the lower groups contribute heavily to this type of response. Certainty of conviction, as it might be inferred from adherence to an "ultra"

<sup>1</sup> A definition of these conservatism-radicalism categories is included in Chapter IV. It will be recalled that a person is described as *ultra conservative* if five or more of his responses to the questions in the six-item C-R battery were in the conservative direction. An individual is classified as a plain *conservative* if three or more of his responses were conservative in character and there were at least two more such conservative responses than any possible number of radical answers. A person is defined as an *ultra radical* if five or more of his six answers were radical in nature. One is called simply a *radical* here if three or more of his replies were radical and outnumbered any possible conservative answers to the extent of two or more. All other persons are designated as *indeterminate*.

<sup>2</sup> In tests for significance between groups in this report usually only one response category is used. Although one could, of course, use more, it would appear superfluous to do so in most cases. Also, in all cases the significance tests for the two rural strata are limited to comparisons between them only.

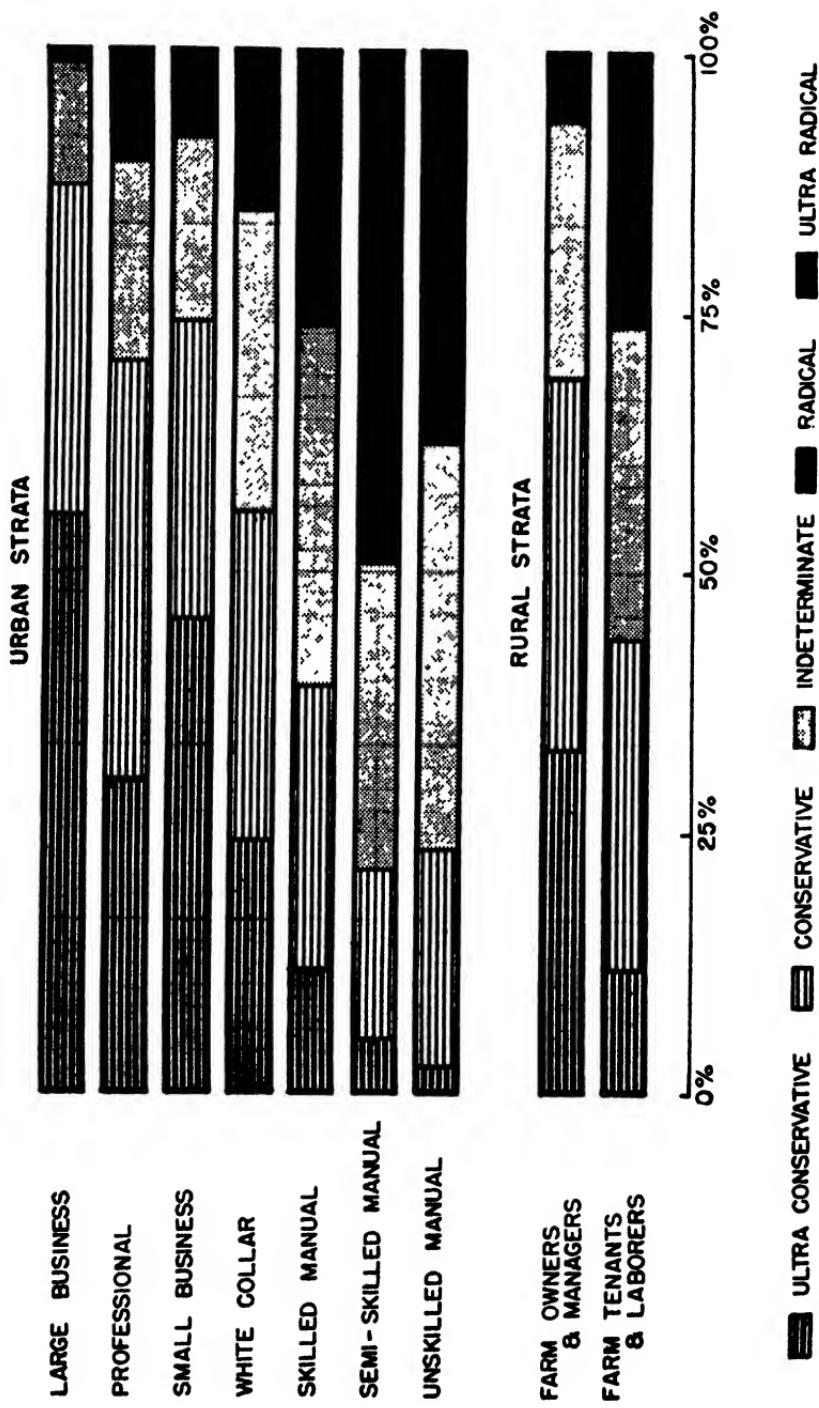
TABLE 8  
Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Conservatism-Radicalism

		For "Ultra Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between				
	N	% Ultra- Conserv- ative	% Conserv- ative	% Indeter- minate	% Radical	% Ultra Radical
<b>NATIONAL*</b>	1097	22.5	27.9	27.3	13.5	8.8
<b>Urban</b>						
<b>A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar</b>	430	35.8	31.9	21.4	7.0	3.9
	414	7.5	21.0	33.1	22.7	15.7
<b>B. All Urban Manual (Detailed Groupings for A and B)</b>						
1. Large business	54	55.5	31.5	11.1	0.0	1.9
2. Professional	73	30.2	39.7	19.2	4.1	6.8
3. Small Business	131	45.8	28.2	17.6	6.9	1.5
4. White Collar	172	24.4	31.4	28.5	10.5	5.2
5. Skilled Manual	163	12.2	26.4	34.4	17.2	9.8
6. Semi-skilled Manual	174	5.2	16.1	29.3	28.7	20.7
7. Unskilled Manual	77	2.5	20.8	39.0	20.8	16.9
<b>Rural</b>						
<b>C. Farm Owners and Managers</b>	153	32.8	35.9	24.8	3.9	2.6
<b>D. Farm Tenants and Laborers</b>	69	11.7	31.9	30.4	18.8	7.2

\* Figures for the national population include a few persons who either could not be classified as to occupation or who were classified as "Protective Service" (e.g. members of the armed or police forces).

† The two major urban strata are compared for significance only with each other.

‡ The two rural strata are compared for significance only with each other.



position, is much more lacking in these latter groups. While many have completely renounced the old norms and adopted a very radical stand, the proportions who merely waver at the undecided point or who at best might be described as non-conservative are large. It is much as if their faith in the old traditions might be badly shaken but still not replaced by complete certainty in denial of them or by adoption of new convictions. The indeterminate group, it is suggested by the data summarized in Table 5, might be fairly accurately described as liberal, for it appears to mean such an intermediate position in terms of the validating criterion, voting behavior.

The size of the indeterminate, undecided or inconsistent category, of course, derives in part from the combination of the six conservatism-radicalism items into a single index. On individual items, as can be seen from inspection of Tables 9, 10, and 11, indecision is much less marked. The conservatism-radicalism relationships that have been found for the battery as a unit are very clearly duplicated in the main in respect to these individual items. Figure 4 depicts the really startling differences that are found, especially when the two lowest manual strata are contrasted with the two business groups (but especially the large business group) and the professionals. The skilled and white collared from item to item, favor now one position, now another. The allegiance of such persons seems torn between two poles or standards of beliefs. Nothing is really very surprising in this, of course, for their objective positions are not uniformly such as to ally them distinctly to either the proprietarial or the wage earning strata. Many white collar people are fairly low-paid employees and differ little economically from higher paid manual wage earners, and for that reason may tend to have attitudes somewhat like theirs. Many others are highly paid with good prospects of rising to positions commanding still more economic advantages, and as such they would logically be expected to defend the status quo, that is, to be conservative in attitude. The skilled manual stratum is likewise a somewhat heterogeneous category with respect to objective status. It contains not only considerable numbers of independent craftsmen, whose very independence is shown (by analysis presented in

a later chapter) to condition their attitudes, but foremen, who already, in a sense, are a part of management, and whose attitudes might be expected to be influenced by management's ideology.

The very striking differences with respect to the issue of "Individualism vs. Collectivism" represent a truly tremendous antagonism of view with respect to one of the oldest traditions of American life. This issue is regarded by many observers as the central one in all today's class strife. Whereas

TABLE 9  
Attitude Differences in Occupational Strata:  
Working People's Power

Q4. Would you agree that everybody would be happier, more secure and more prosperous if the working people were given more power and influence in government, or would you say that we would all be better off if the working people had no more power than they have now?

	N	%	No More	For "No More" Differences	
				Agree	Don't Know
<b>NATIONAL</b>	1092	47.7	43.5	8.8	
<i>Urban</i>					
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	427	37.2	58.1	4.7	A & B
B. All Urban Manual ( <i>Detailed Groupings for A and B</i> )	413	61.0	28.3	10.7	B & A
1. Large Business	54	24.1	74.1	1.8	1 & 4,5,6,7
2. Professional	72	31.9	65.3	2.8	2 & 4,5,6,7
3. Small Business	130	29.2	63.9	6.9	3 & 4,5,6,7
4. White Collar	171	49.7	45.6	4.7	4 & 1,2,3,5,6,7
5. Skilled Manual	162	59.3	31.5	9.2	5 & 1,2,3,4
6. Semi-skilled Manual	174	65.5	25.3	9.2	6 & 1,2,3,4
7. Unskilled Manual	77	54.5	28.6	16.9	7 & 1,2,3,4
<i>Rural</i>					
C. Farm Owners and Managers	153	35.3	53.6	11.1	C & D
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	68	58.8	23.5	17.7	D & C

TABLE 10

- Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Government vs.  
Private Ownership of Industry

Q5. As you know, during this war many private businesses and industries have been taken over by the government. Do you think wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and that we would have fewer people out of work if the government took over and ran our mines, factories and industries in the future, or do you think things would be better under private ownership?

NATIONAL	1094	20.2	71.6	2.8	5.4	For "Private" Differences Are Significant Between						
						% Government	% Private					
<i>Urban</i>												
<i>Detailed Groupings for A and B)</i>												
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	429	10.5	83.2	3.5	2.8		A & B					
B. All Manual Workers	413	29.8	60.0	3.2	7.0		B & A					
1. Large Business	54	3.7	93.0	0.0	0.0		1 & 5,6,7					
2. Professional	73	12.3	80.8	4.1	2.2		2 & 6,7					
3. Small Business	131	11.5	81.7	4.6	2.8		3 & 6,7					
4. White Collar	171	11.1	81.3	3.5	4.1		4 & 6,7					
5. Skilled Manual	162	18.5	76.6	3.7	6.2		5 & 6,7					
6. Semi-skilled	174	39.1	52.9	2.9	5.1		6 & 1,2,3,4,5					
7. Unskilled	77	32.5	51.9	2.6	13.0		7 & 1,2,3,4,5					
<i>Rural</i>												
C. Farm Owners and Managers	152	14.5	78.3	2.0	5.2		C & D					
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	69	26.1	62.3	0.0	11.6		D & C					

TABLE II

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
"Individualism vs. Collectivism"

Q6 Which one of these statements do you most agree with?

- (1) The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own.
- (2) The most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living.

	NATIONAL	1093	59.8	38.6	1.0	0.6	For "Individualism" (or own) Differences Are Significant Between		
							% Individualist (On own)	% Collectivist (Gov't's way.)	% Qualified
<i>Urban</i>									
A.	All Business, Professional, and White Collar	430	74.9	23.2	1.4	0.5	A & B		
B.	All Manual Workers ( <i>Detailed Groupings for A and B</i> )	411	39.2	59.1	0.7	1.0	B & A		
1.	Large Business	54	90.7	7.4	1.9	0.0	1 & 4,5,6,7		
2.	Professional	73	76.7	20.5	2.8	0.8	2 & 5,6,7		
3.	Small Business	131	76.3	22.1	0.8	0.0	3 & 5,6,7		
4.	White Collar	172	68.0	30.2	1.2	0.6	4 & 1,5,6,7		
5.	Skilled Manual	160	51.8	46.9	1.3	0.9	5 & 1,2,3,4,6,7		
6.	Semi-skilled	174	30.5	67.2	0.6	1.7	6 & 1,2,3,4,5		
7.	Unskilled	77	32.5	66.2	0.0	1.3	7 & 1,2,3,4,5		
<i>Rural</i>									
C.	Farm Owners and Managers	152	77.6	21.7	0.7	0.0	C & D		
D.	Farm Tenants and Laborers	69	55.1	43.5	0.0	1.4	D & C		

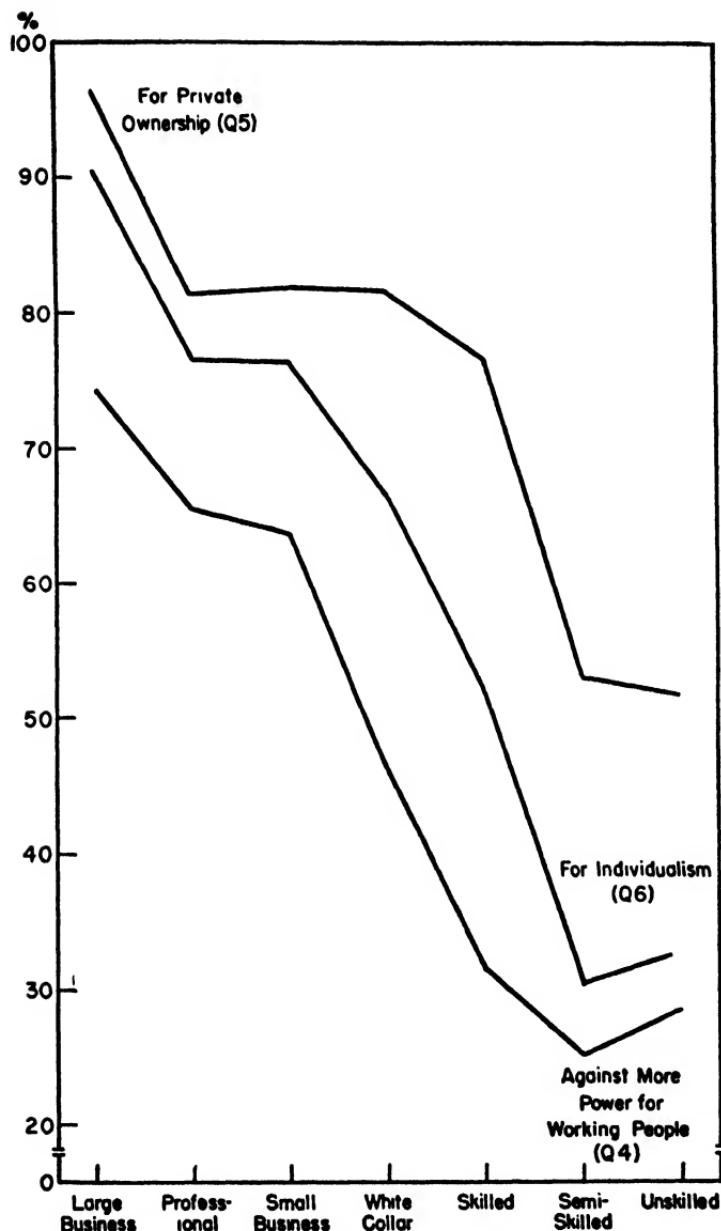


FIGURE 4. Attitude Differences of Urban Occupational Strata

nine-tenths of large business owners and managers and over three-fourths of professional and small business men cling to the traditional belief that the role of government should be limited to the insuring of good opportunities for the individual's pursuit of his own economic destiny, only about three-tenths of semi-skilled and unskilled workers profess such a conviction. Fully two-thirds of the workingmen in each of these strata display a socialist or collectivist view in their assertion that it is government's function to guarantee the citizen's economic sufficiency. Individualism is a crumbling faith.

As noted before, the division in belief, while clearly evident between the two rural strata, is not nearly so pronounced as that between the two major urban strata. The correlation coefficients<sup>8</sup> listed in Table 12 show substantial relationships between higher occupational status and conservatism, as indicated by the total battery and by individual items, for both rural and urban groups. Yet it is apparent that the urban groups are in general much farther apart in belief than the rural. When, however, it comes to the most obvious "class" issue in the three shown here, that is, the question as to whether working people should have more power and influence in government, the division in the rural population is as great as that in the urban.

### *Political Behavior and Economic Alignments*

It would be surprising if the divisions in attitude and belief that are so clearly present were not projected into habitual political modes of action and into economic alliances such as union membership. And indeed, as an examination of the data summarized in Tables 13 and 16 will show, there are such manifestations of differing political and economic behavior.

Support for the Republicans—a traditionally conservative party—is strongest in precisely those strata that have the most to gain by maintenance of the status quo, that is, in the busi-

<sup>8</sup> The probable errors of these coefficients and others that appear elsewhere in the report are obtained by multiplying the probable error of an equivalent Pearson product-moment coefficient by 1.5—a procedure suggested by Garrett (19).

TABLE 12  
List of Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficients for Occupational Status with  
Conservatism-Radicalism and Representative Items of the C-R Battery

Occupational Stratum Dichotomies	Conservatism-Radicalism	Individualism vs. Collectivism				Working People's Power				Private vs. Government Ownership
		$r_t$	App. Prob. Error	$r_t$	App. Prob. Error	$r_t$	App. Prob. Error	$r_t$	App. Prob. Error	
Business, Professional, White Collar, and Farm Owners and Mgrs. vs. Manual Workers and Farm Tenants and Laborers	.56	.021	.53	.022	.46	.024	.39	.026		
Business, Professional, White Collar vs. Manual Workers Farm Owners and Managers vs. Farm Tenants and Laborers	.59	.022	.54	.024	.46	.027	.42	.028		
	.39	.057	.37	.058	.45	.054	.29	.062		

ness and professional groups (Table 13). Such support is much less in evidence in the lower occupational strata. These throw their weight behind the party that has most recently stood for liberal social change. The rural strata, though not so far apart politically as the urban, show a similar political difference. *516002*

There exists some fairly convincing evidence in the data obtained from this survey that the political alignments of our population are shifting steadily in a direction of cleavage along stratification lines. This shift can be readily inferred from a comparison of the political preferences of persons actually interviewed, as shown in Table 13, with those of their parents as shown in Tables 14 and 15. The parents' voting habits do not show so great a difference along stratification lines as those of the younger generation. The cleavage has grown. The suggestion is that in the future more and more manual workers will align themselves with a liberal party—as the Democratic Party has sometimes been—and more and more of non-manual persons will cling to the conservative views of such a party as the Republican.

It is not known, of course, how far back in time the respondent's memory goes, and it may be that the trend shown reflects a recent, perhaps post-Hoover habit in his parents' voting. One might at least suspect so, for Republican support must once have been fairly extensive in the laboring strata, to judge by the large majorities that Republicans long enjoyed.

Table 16 reflects the situation with respect to union affiliation among the various occupations. The concentration of membership is heaviest, as would be expected, among manual workers, particularly the skilled and semi-skilled. But nearly one-quarter of white collar workers also indicate a union affiliation, and even business and professional people show some membership. It may be that persons who say they belong to unions in the business groups are persons who have fairly recently come up the occupational ladder, and have retained their membership in wage earners' organizations acquired while they were manual or white collar workers. It is possible also, of course, that they may have had some combination of

TABLE 13

Voting Behavior of Occupational Strata in the 1944 Presidential Election  
 Q28a. Whom did you vote for in the last Presidential Election?

	N	% Republicans (Dewey)	% Democratic (Roosevelt)	% Other	% Wouldn't Say	% Didn't Vote	% For "Republicans" Differences Are Significant Between
NATIONAL	1088	33.7	51.4	0.8	0.7	13.4	
<i>Urban</i>							
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	423	44.2	45.2	1.4	0.9	8.3	A & B
B. All Manual Workers (Detailed Groupings for A and B)	413	21.5	59.6	0.5	0.7	17.7	B & A
1. Large Business	54	63.0	31.3	1.9	1.9	1.9	1 & 3,4,5,6,7
2. Professional	72	48.6	41.7	2.8	0.0	6.9	2 & 4,5,6,7
3. Small Business	128	46.1	46.9	0.8	0.0	6.2	3 & 1,5,6,7
4. White Collar	169	34.9	49.7	1.2	1.8	12.4	4 & 1,2,6,7
5. Skilled Manual	162	29.6	58.0	0.0	0.0	12.4	5 & 1,2,3,6
6. Semi-skilled	174	14.4	60.9	0.6	1.1	23.0	6 & 1,2,3,4,5
7. Unskilled	77	20.8	59.7	1.3	1.3	16.9	7 & 1,2,3,4
<i>Rural</i>							
C. Farm Owners and Managers	152	43.4	50.0	0.0	0.7	5.9	C & D
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	69	27.5	42.0	0.0	0.0	30.5	D & C

TABLE 14

Voting Behavior of Occupational Strata: Father's Voting Habits  
Q28b. What political party did your father usually support?

	N	% Repub- licans	% Demo- cratic	% Other	% Indepen- dent or Non- Partisan	% Not in This Country	% Didn't Vote	% Don't Know	For "Republi- can" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Urban</i>									
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	420	41.9	41.4	3.8	3.3	2.7	2.9	4.0	A & B
B. All Manual Workers ( <i>Detailed Groupings</i> for A and B)	413	29.5	51.3	1.2	3.4	2.4	4.2	8.0	B & A
1. Large Business	54	50.0	37.0	1.8	5.6	1.8	1.9	1.9	1 & 5,6,7
2. Professional	72	43.1	40.3	5.6	5.6	0.0	1.3	4.1	2 & 6
3. Small Business	128	39.8	39.1	1.6	2.3	5.5	6.3	5.5	3 & 6
4. White Collar	166	40.4	45.2	5.4	2.4	1.8	1.2	3.6	4 & 6
5. Skilled Manual	162	30.9	50.0	0.6	4.9	1.2	1.9	10.5	5 & 1
6. Semi-skilled	174	27.6	52.9	1.7	3.4	2.9	6.9	4.6	6 & 1,2,3,4
7. Unskilled	77	31.2	50.6	1.3	0.0	3.9	2.6	10.4	7 & 1
<i>Rural</i>									
C. Farm Owners and Managers	153	44.4	51.0	0.7	1.3	1.9	0.0	0.7	
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	68	35.3	51.5	0.0	1.5	1.5	0.0	10.2	

TABLE 15

Voting Behavior of Occupational Strata: Mother's Voting Habits  
Q28c. What party did your mother support?

	N	% Republican	% Democrat	% Other	% Independent or Non-Partisans	% Not in This Country	% Didn't Vote	% Didn't Know
<i>Urban</i>								
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	414	35.3*	37.0	1.4	5.1	2.4	14.0	4.8
<i>(Detailed Groupings for A and B)</i>								
B. All Manual Workers	407	26.5*	42.3	1.2	2.2	2.7	16.0	9.1
1. Large Business	54	38.9	35.2	0.0	7.4	1.8	13.0	3.7
2. Professional	71	36.6	36.6	2.8	8.5	0.0	9.9	5.6
3. Small Business	127	35.4	33.9	0.8	3.9	4.7	16.6	4.7
4. White Collar	162	33.3	40.1	1.9	3.7	1.9	14.2	4.9
5. Skilled Manual	160	27.5	41.9	0.6	3.8	1.3	13.1	11.8
6. Semi-skilled	171	24.6	44.4	1.8	3.5	18.7	5.2	11.9
7. Unskilled	76	28.9	38.2	1.3	0.0	3.9	15.8	
<i>Rural</i>								
C. Farm Owners and Managers	151	37.7	47.7	0.0	1.3	2.0	6.6	4.7
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	67	28.4	47.8	0.0	0.0	1.5	9.0	13.3

\* Differences between adjacent starred percentages are significant at the 95 per cent level of confidence or better.

TABLE 16  
Union Membership and Occupational Stratification  
Q16a. Do you belong to a union?

	<i>N</i>	% Yes	% No	<i>For "Yes" Differences Are Signifi- cant Between</i>
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1087</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>76</b>	
<i>Urban</i>				
A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar	427	14	86	A & B
B. All Manual Workers ( <i>Detailed Groupings for A and B</i> )	409	45	55	B & A
1. Large Business	54	4	96	1 & 4,5,6,7
2. Professional	73	7	93	2 & 4,5,6,7
3. Small Business	130	8	92	3 & 4,5,6,7
4. White Collar	170	24	76	4 & 1,2,3,5,6
5. Skilled Manual	160	49	51	5 & 1,2,3,4,7
6. Semi-skilled	172	50	50	6 & 1,2,3,4,7
7. Unskilled	77	23	77	7 & 1,2,3,5,6
<i>Rural</i>				
C. Farm Owners and Managers	152	5	95	
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	68	3	97	

their own in mind, such as a trade association or manufacturers' association, in answering this question. Forty-five per cent of manual workers belong to some sort of union, which seems to mean fairly strong approval of such organizations by wage earners, since affiliation is for the most part voluntary.

Belief in the advantages of unionism as far as personal advancement is concerned is, however, nearly everywhere stronger than actual membership would suggest. Even the employing and managerial groups, who stand to lose rather than to gain by the combination of workers into unions, assert, more often than they do the contrary, that belonging to a union is beneficial to those who do belong to one (Table 17). This, at least, is true when the business, professional and

TABLE 17

Q16b. Do you think belonging to a union usually hurts people's chances for advancement in their jobs, makes no difference, or helps their chances for advancement?

		N	% Hurts	% Makes No Difference	% Helps	% Qualified	% Don't Know	For "Helps" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>NATIONAL</i>								
	<i>Urban</i>	1086	15.8	25.6	38.8	6.3	13.5	
A.	All Business, Professional, and White Collar	426	19.2	33.3	31.7	6.9	8.9	A & B
B.	All Manual Workers ( <i>Detailed Groupings for A and B</i> )	411	12.9	21.7	48.7	6.5	10.2	B & A
	1. Large Business	54	22.2	44.4	16.7	5.6	11.1	1 & 3,4,5,6,7
	2. Professional	72	23.6	37.5	29.2	5.5	4.2	2 & 6,7
	3. Small Business	131	20.6	23.7	33.6	11.4	10.7	3 & 1,6,7
	4. White Collar	169	15.4	35.5	36.1	4.1	8.9	4 & 1,6
	5. Skilled	163	15.9	25.2	42.9	6.8	9.2	5 & 1,6
	6. Semi-skilled	173	9.2	20.8	54.3	6.5	9.2	6 & 1,2,3,4,5
	7. Unskilled	75	14.7	16.0	48.0	6.6	14.7	7 & 1,2,3
<i>Rural</i>								
C	Farm Owners and Managers	150	18.0	21.3	27.3	5.4	28.0	
D.	Farm Tenants and Laborers	69	13.0	11.6	37.7	1.5	36.2	

white collar groups are considered as a totality, and it holds for the farm owners and managers, though when the finer urban groupings are examined, the most distinctively employing and managing group, large businessmen, shows fewer who concede that unionism is advantageous to the worker than those who say it is disadvantageous to him. In general the tendency is for those in the lowest occupational ranks to manifest the largest approval of unionism, with the high point of such approval occurring in the semi-skilled grade.

These latter, on almost every issue examined so far, have shown the largest differences in attitude from those at the employing and managing end of the occupational hierarchy. Indeed, they seem to constitute, in a sense, a nucleus of opposition to the dominant strata. There is important verification here for much that has been said about classes (or strata) by older theorists, for it is just these semi-skilled and unskilled workers who constitute the most distinctively "proletarian" groups in our economic order and who at the same time show themselves to be the most disaffected with the existing system. Their radicalism, as shown here, is consonant also with present tendencies in their relations with management. For it is just the huge masses of mine, mill and factory workers (who constitute the semi-skilled and unskilled groups) who are spearheading the struggle and whose actions are setting the pattern for the less aggressive skilled manual and white collar workers. It is the leaders of their unions too—such men as Curran, Bridges, Lewis and Reuther—whose actions and policies are having such an impact on our current economic life.

The differences that have been described in this chapter do not by any means exhaust those to be found linked to occupational stratification. Strata differ in outlook in many other ways. Their attitudes toward opportunity, wealth, poverty, and success differ. They differ in the satisfactions and frustrations they find in their work and life, and they differ also in aspirations and desires. The writer has reported such differences as these in other papers (7, 8), however, and it must suffice here merely to call attention to their existence, since it is desirable to confine discussion to those psychological phe-

nomena that bear most centrally on the interest group concept of social classes at this time.

This chapter has also been limited in that only relationships between politico-economic orientations and occupational stratification have been dealt with. These orientations are importantly linked also with economic (or standard of living) and power stratification, and these relationships need to be considered along with those for the occupational variable since they constitute strong supporting evidence for the interest group thesis that has been presented. It is better, however, to postpone the discussion of such relationships until after data on class consciousness as manifested in the individual's class identification has been considered. It will then be possible to show both politico-economic orientations *and* class identifications as functions of these various forms of stratification, as is desirable before final conclusions regarding the interest group hypothesis are drawn.

## CHAPTER VI

### CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS STRUCTURE

THE psychological differences among the various occupational strata that have been described in the preceding chapter are certainly substantial ones. They exist, moreover, in such a degree and pattern as to indicate a tendency toward the cleavage of the population toward two distinct poles of attitude and behavior. There is, to be sure, no sharp, neat point where day changes to night, i.e. where one stratum or set of strata clings unanimously to one point of view and the one adjacent to it in the hierarchy clings as a man, so to speak, to another. Rather, there is a situation obtaining much like the pictures one sees in a biological textbook of a cell that is beginning to divide, there being masses of material concentrated at two ends of a continuum with a gradient of stuff between. A cleavage into sub-cultures is incipient, but is not complete. What has been described is a trend. The lowest occupational ranks, i.e. the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, represent the frontier of one direction in attitude and behavior, the top business group represents the extreme in another. Unanimity of opinion within either stratum is not, admittedly, the rule, but the differences between strata are frequently so striking as to suggest strongly the very sort of basic irreconciliability of viewpoint that has been described by persons who conceive of social classes as interest groups even now the parties to a struggle.

#### *Significance of Class Identifications*

THE sort of differences in attitude and belief between strata that have been disclosed, particularly in these key areas, do indeed seem to be the stuff out of which social conflict between groups is made, but, as has been pointed out above, prior study has indicated little in the way of class identifications or feelings of belongingness to distinct classes that would support the view that there is any of the requisite *group consciousness* for the behaving of these strata as units

in conflict with other social groups. As Thouless (47) has pointed out, the absence of group consciousness, such as race, or national or class consciousness may be the decisive factor in preventing a group from taking common action; for he says: "The internal cohesiveness of a social group and its power to act as a unit in competition with other social groups depend to a large extent on the extent to which members of the group are aware of the reality of the group and of their own membership in it."<sup>1</sup>

The importance of *a distinctive name* to identify the group and its members has also been pointed out by several social psychologists. Thouless, again, has summed up its importance in a peculiarly apt way:

"The absence of group consciousness may be the determining factor in preventing a group from taking cooperative action. The blue-eyed people of Great Britain, for example, are not group conscious. If it were desired to make them take violent action against the brown-eyed, *it would be necessary first to give them a distinctive name*,<sup>2</sup> and to make them think of themselves as members of this blue-eyed group *and identified with its interests*<sup>3</sup> rather than as members of the British people as a whole.

"It was reported by travellers (I do not know how truly) that, early in the nineteenth century before the beginnings of their revolt against the Turkish rule, the people occupying the country we now call 'Bulgaria' had very commonly no name which they gave themselves as a distinct people. If this was so, the first condition for a successful rising was that they should think of themselves as 'Bulgarians,' i.e. that they should become race conscious. Similarly Marx, when trying to prepare for a proletarian revolution, rightly considered that it was necessary that the working classes should become 'class-conscious,' that they should think of themselves as forming a separate class from the rest of the community with interests that were peculiar to them. Governments that do not want a proletarian revolution aim at the reduction of class consciousness. Those whose aim is to prevent national wars similarly

<sup>1</sup> Italics not in original.

<sup>2</sup> Italics not in original.

<sup>3</sup> Italics not in original

see a danger in national consciousness and would rather intensify consciousness of membership of larger units (so that, for example, an individual would think of himself as a European rather than as an Englishman or German)." (47, p. 326f.)

### *Class Identifications—The American Class Structure*

SUCH remarks as these make it patently clear that the discovery of what names the people of the several social classes in our culture distinguish themselves by is of prime importance in considerations of class theory. The determination of what names *are* in actual use has not proved an easy task, as has been pointed out in previous discussion. In framing a question on class identification for the present study it has also been indicated before that the writer built upon what knowledge had been gained before. It was considered unnecessary to repeat the exploratory work of the *Fortune* survey, which had asked an open-answer type of question, for public attitude surveys based on cross sections of the total population characteristically achieve quite similar results, and *Fortune's* question, "What word do you use to name the class in America you belong to?", had gained the information necessary for the formulation of a question designed to more rigidly structure the identifications into a system. Since *Fortune* had found that the terms *middle class* and *working* (or *laboring*) *class* were the most frequently used of all, it was clear that these, along with the terms *upper class* and *lower class*, which (together with apparently equivalent terms) constituted the next most frequent responses, should constitute the alternatives for the question used in the present study.

Members of the cross section were asked: "If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class?" The answers will convincingly dispel any doubt that Americans are class conscious, and quite as quickly quell any glib assertions like *Fortune's* "America is Middle Class."

TABLE 18

Class Identifications of a National Cross Section  
of White Males (July 1945)  
(N = 1,097)

<i>Per Cent Saying</i>	
Upper Class	3
Middle Class	43
Working Class	51
Lower Class	1
Don't Know	1
"Don't Believe in Classes"	1

*Not only do all but an insignificant minority admit of membership in some class, but over half of our people (51 per cent) say they belong to the working class (Table 18). Given the opportunity now to claim membership in any of four different classes, only about half as many claim to belong to the middle class as have been found calling themselves middle class in previous studies. Whereas the latter have shown, characteristically, figures of from 80 to 90 per cent, only 43 per cent of people now say they are middle class.*

These results are those from the main survey which was carried out in July 1945. Their reliability was checked in two follow-up studies conducted in February 1946 and in March 1947 respectively. Data from the 1946 survey are cited in Table 19. Both studies reveal substantially the same relation-

TABLE 19

Class Identifications of a National Cross Section  
of White Males (February 1946)  
(N = 1,337)

<i>Per Cent Saying</i>	
Upper Class	4
Middle Class	36
Working Class	52
Lower Class	5
Don't Know	3

ships as those indicated in the 1945 data. The authenticity of these class identifications seems unquestionable.

In all three studies the figures for identification with the lower class are below those previously found for this class when only the terms upper, middle and lower class were used. Though the differences are very small and may represent merely errors in sampling, there is certainly a suggestion in them that the smaller percentages for lower class identification are functions of the inclusion of the working class label, a possibly less invidious and opprobrious term.

### *Definitions of the Several Classes*

THE above point leads at once into the query : *What, after all do these names mean?* Who belongs in these classes? To what do they correspond in terms of stratification? What are they to be identified with in terms of some objective criterion that is common and public? These are serious questions and demand answer. One can find textbook and dictionary definitions enough, to be sure, but these do not serve us here, for, in essence, *a class is no more nor less than what people collectively think it is*. It is a psychological structuring and must be observed, just as any other psychological datum, before we can infer its basis and nature.

Thus conceived, it becomes readily apparent that classes demand *social definitions*. That is, they must be defined by the people collectively. In accordance with this conviction, it was decided to ask the people who identified themselves with the several classes to define the membership of the class they claimed they belonged to. Because of the relative objectivity and intelligibility of occupational labels to the general public, and because it is so essential to determine the meanings of the respective classes in terms of some stratification index, it was decided to try to find out what the *occupational composition* of each class was. Accordingly, each person who claimed membership in some class was handed a card listing the several occupational categories shown below and asked, "Which of those in this list would you say belonged in the . . . . .

class? (whichever the respondent had chosen). Just call out the letters."

- A. Big business owners and executives.
- B. Small business owners and operators.
- C. Factory workers.
- D. Office workers.
- E. Doctors and lawyers.
- F. Servants.
- G. Farmers.
- H. Laborers such as miners, truck drivers, and shop-workers.
- I. Store and factory managers.
- J. Waiters and bartenders.
- K. Salesmen.

Interviewers were instructed to ask the person "any others?" etc., before leaving this question in order that a complete response might be obtained from each one. Results are shown in Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8. Those for the upper and lower classes, that is, Figures 5 and 6, are, of course, offered only as a suggestion of the trend, for the numbers of people who claimed membership in either of these classes is much too small for their definitions to be derived from an adequate sampling.

*It is clear that each class has a distinctive pattern of occupational strata as members.* There is overlapping, to be sure, and obviously imperfect agreement obtains with respect to the inclusion or exclusion of a given occupational group in a given class. But, by and large, the patterns of membership are distinctive enough to allow one to visualize the two major classes, middle and working, respectively, as roughly separate sectors of the population. The upper and middle classes comprise mainly the business and professional<sup>4</sup> people, it is obvi-

<sup>4</sup> The writer is generalizing the category "Doctors and Lawyers" here in making a reference to professional people. In a pretest of the stimulus material the label *Professional People* was used but it was found that some poorly educated persons did not understand the word "Professional." For the same reason, the terms *Skilled*, *Semi-skilled* and *Unskilled Workers* could not be used. To overcome this difficulty, use of examples of the respective categories appeared to be a fair solution.

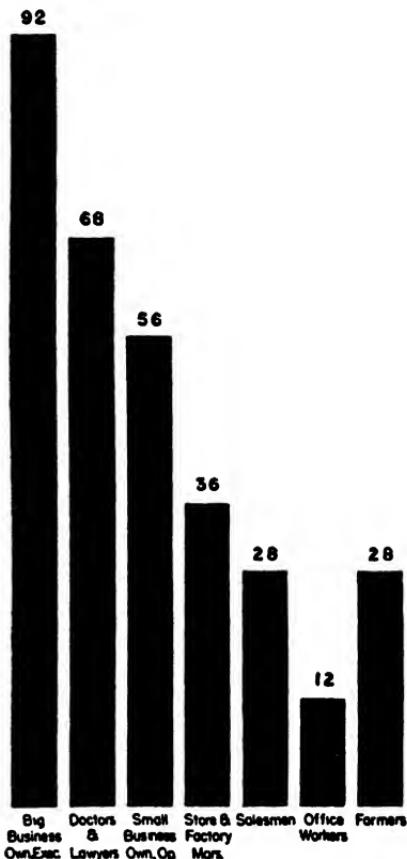


FIGURE 5. Occupational Composition of the Upper Class According to Upper Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership

Numbers at the top of each bar represent the per cent of people in the upper class who include the given occupational group in the upper class

ous, while the working and lower classes contain mostly the manual workers. The position assigned by the various classes to big business owners and executives is about the clearest of that of any of the categories, both in terms of its inclusion in the upper class (Figure 5) and in terms of its exclusion from all other classes by all but insignificant minorities of their members. The position given to farmers is, in contrast, the

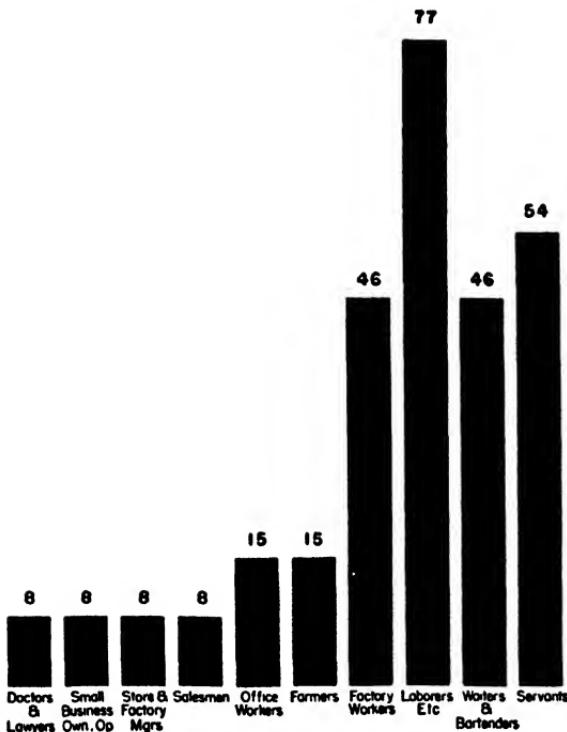


FIGURE 6. Occupational Composition of the Lower Class According to Lower Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership

Numbers at the top of each bar represent the per cent of people in the lower class who include the given occupational group in the lower class

most ambiguous of all, for considerable percentages of all four classes name them as members. Most typically, however, they are claimed as a working class group. It is regretted that the list handed to respondents did not contain separate mention of farm owners and managers, farm tenants, and farm laborers. This should be done if this sort of survey is repeated in the future.

The class position of office workers seems also to be an equivocal one, for they are claimed almost as often by working class people as they are by the middle class. The difficulty of assigning them to class membership appears thus no less a

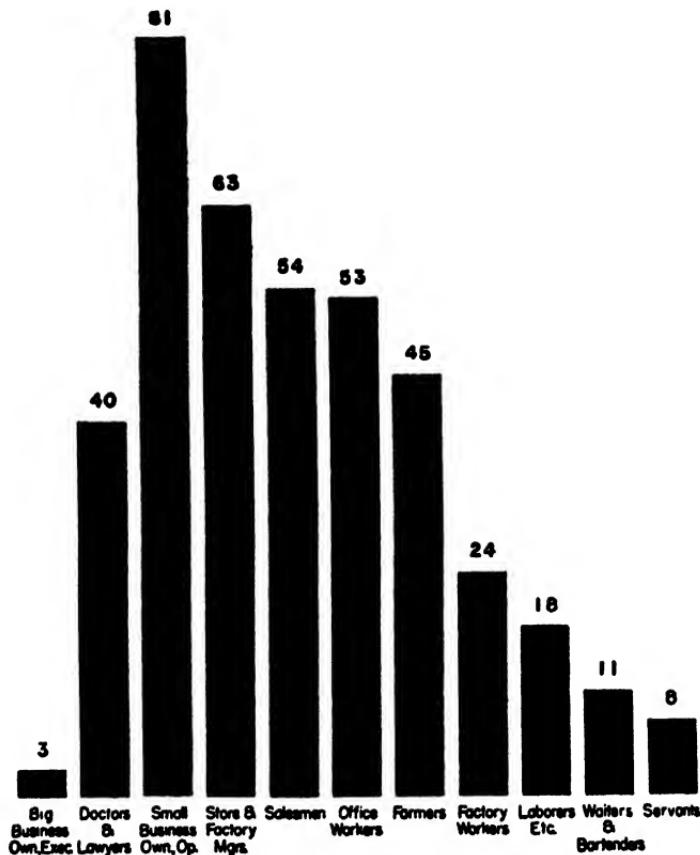


FIGURE 7. Occupational Composition of the Middle Class According to Middle Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership

Numbers at the top of each bar represent the per cent of people in the middle class who include the given occupational group in the middle class

one with the members of actual classes than it has been to social scientists. Traditionally they have been thought of by the latter as middle class or "lower middle class," and they have frequently been characterized as "the assistants of management" and in other similar terms that indicate an identification with the dominant stratum. Still, considerable numbers of them are wage earners just as are most manual workers,

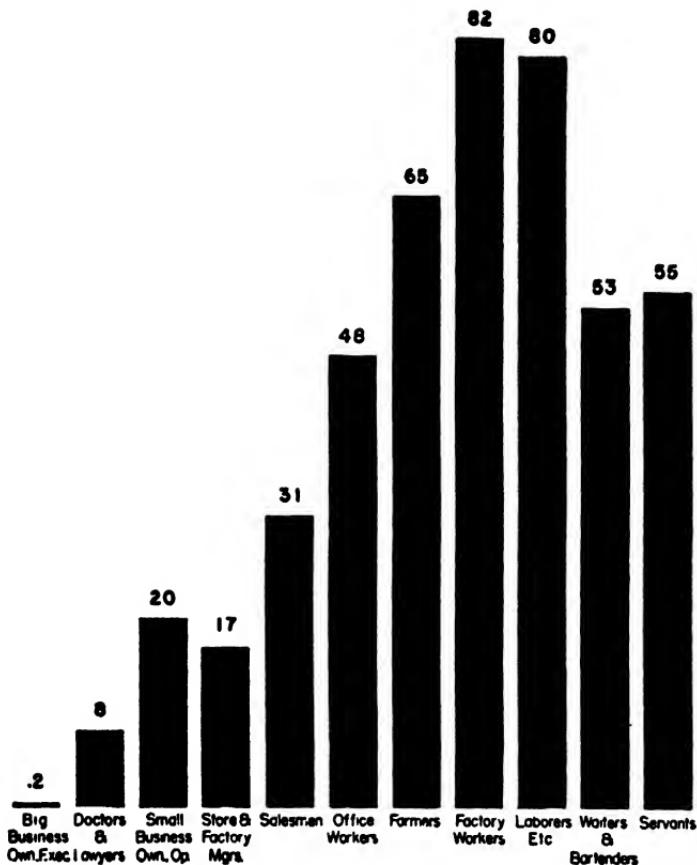


FIGURE 8. Occupational Composition of the Working Class According to Working Class Specifications of the Occupational Membership

Numbers at the top of each bar represent the per cent of people in the working class who include the given occupational group in the working class

and they have more and more of late years begun to form unions of their own and to make common cause with the manual worker. All of this is so commonly known and commented upon as a symptom of the economic unrest in this stratum, however, as to make superfluous much discussion here. The following quotation from a publication devoted to the problems of management (*Modern Industry*) indicates

how widely the changing attitudes of white collar workers are noted and the inferences that are being drawn from this phenomenon :

“ ‘You Can’t Eat Air Conditioning,’ sneers a union organizing leaflet addressed to the office employees of a New Jersey plant. The company, recruiting typists, had used glowing newspaper ads to describe its ideal working conditions, but failed to mention that salaries were lower than those paid janitresses.

“That union message typifies a change in attitude and outlook of white-collar employees, one that promises to affect all employer-employee relations.

“Today’s labor ferment is boiling over deep into the ranks of a group of employees long considered to be almost part of management. White-collar workers’ ideas are growing akin to those prevailing in the factory. So are their methods.

“The recent strike of members of the Federation of Westinghouse Independent Salaried Unions is a spectacular example. Demanding a bonus incentive system similar to that given production workers, striking white-collar workers closed or seriously curtailed production in six Westinghouse units for three weeks.

“Traditionally ‘hard to organize,’ both white-collar unions and big catch-all industrial unions claim it is becoming easier to make office employees union-conscious. The Chicago branch of United Office & Professional Workers (CIO), for example, reports more requests from non-union offices for help in unionizing in the three weeks after V-J Day than in the previous six months.

“This trend, however, does not mean that on your way to work tomorrow a sound truck will be calling out your secretary to strike for higher wages. Nor does it mean that employees are no longer interested in comfortable offices or in cordial working relationships. It does mean that behind the cheerful smiles and pleasant chatter of your office help may be mounting unrest, an increasing feeling that salaries are inadequate, and an increasing attraction to getting what they feel they must have by militant means.

“The trend is a long-time one. Starting during the mass

labor upheavals of 1935 and 1936, it slackened off somewhat just before the war, to swing up again during the war years and since.

"Today, 1.4 million clerical and professional workers belong long to national labor unions. Of these, 5% work in manufacturing establishments, but their number is increasing.

"There are many reasons for this:

"As war-production demands glorified the muscles, office work lost much of its social prestige.

"Many former office employees secured temporary war-plant jobs, joined unions, and picked up completely new '*working-class*' attitudes."<sup>5</sup> (59, pp. 49-50)

### *Class Identifications of Occupational Strata*

THE conception of one's own role and class membership is, one can see after such remarks as these, a highly significant issue in social and economic behavior, and, from the standpoint of possible class conflict, an all-important one. What is the relation between people's present occupational status and their class membership? An answer is found in Table 20, and, perhaps more easily, in Figure 9.

*Nearly three-quarters of all business, professional and white collar workers identify themselves with the middle or upper classes. An even larger proportion of all manual workers, 79 per cent, identify, on the other hand, with the working and lower classes.* Within the detailed urban occupational categories there is the same sort of gradation displayed as that shown for politico-economic orientations in the last chapter (Figure 9). But now, somewhat more than in the usual case, there is also a definite and sharp break to be discerned in the difference in the identifications of white collar workers as compared to those of skilled manual workers. The former, despite such trends as those reported above, still tends to be a middle class group, the latter to be, in heavy majority, a working class one.<sup>6</sup>

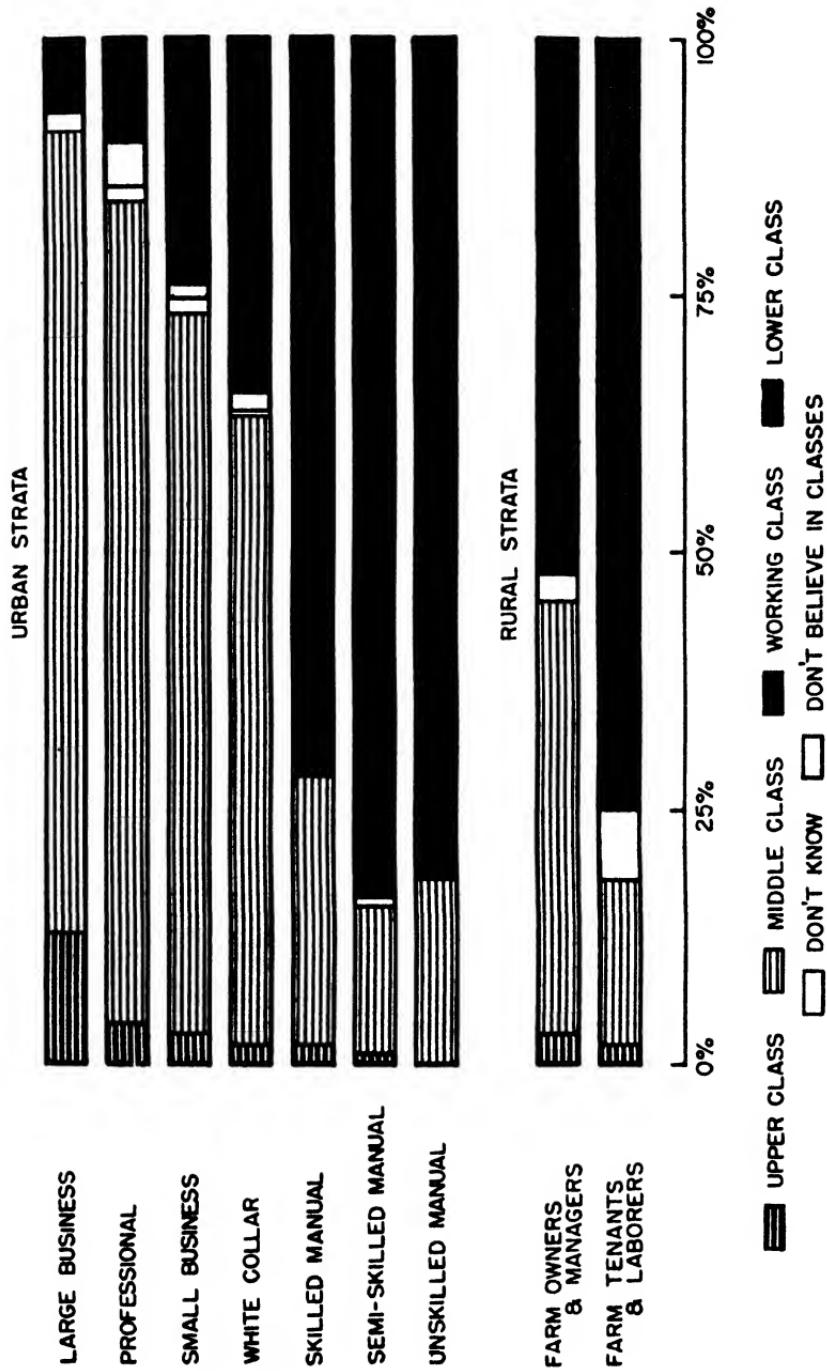
<sup>5</sup> Italics not in original.

<sup>6</sup> Preliminary analysis of data on the class identifications of women indicates that these generalizations apply to women as well as men. The occupation-class relationships appear substantially the same, regardless of the sex of the sample.

TABLE 20

Q2a. If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the Middle Class, Lower Class, Working Class, or Upper Class?

Occupation	N	% Upper Class	% Middle Class	% Working Class	% Lower Class	% Don't Know	% Don't Believe in Classes	% Total Upper and Middle Classes	For "Total Upper and Middle" Diff- ferences Are Sig- nificant Between	
									Urban	Rural
<b>A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar</b>										
B. All Manual Workers (Detailed Groupings for A and B)	414	1	20	77	1.7	0.3	—	21	B & A	
1. Large Business	54	13	78	7	—	2.0	—	91	1 & 3,4,5,6,7	
2. Professional	73	4	81	10	—	1.0	4.0	85	2 & 4,5,6,7	
3. Small Business	131	3	70	24	—	1.5	1.5	73	3 & 1,5,6,7	
4. White Collar	172	2	61	34	0.6	0.6	1.8	63	4 & 1,2,5,6,7	
5. Skilled Manual	163	2	26	71	1.0	—	—	28	5 & 1,2,3,4,6	
6. Semi-skilled	174	1	14	83	1.0	1.0	—	15	6 & 1,2,3,4,5	
7. Unskilled	77	—	18	75	7.0	—	—	18	7 & 1,2,3,4	
<b>C. Farm Owners and Managers</b>										
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	153	3	42	51	1.0	3.0	—	45	C & D	
	69	2	16	73	2.0	7.0	—	18	D & C	



The rural strata, though showing a clear division in loyalty, and in the direction to be expected by virtue of their economic position, show, as usual, less difference than that to be found between the business, professional and white collar group and the manual stratum. This is probably a function of several factors. For one thing they are, like urban manual workers, a predominantly *tool using* group and also, like them, a *producing* group. (Insofar as such factors might influence their conception of their role, status and economic interests, it apparently predominates over another supposed tendency for them to claim membership in the non-working class groups, i.e. upper and middle classes, by virtue of their economic independence as it is manifested in *tool owning* and *proprietorship*. Moreover, though extremes of wealth and poverty exist among them, the vast majority of even the proprietors are only poor or average in economic status.<sup>7</sup> Such homogeneity of standards of living might readily be supposed to be a factor tending to reduce psychological differences and to promote homogeneity of viewpoint and outlook instead. Here, where only occupational status or objective role is taken into account, the difference appears smaller than it would if other economic or stratification variables were considered.

The question also occurs as to their conceptions of the classes (mainly middle and working) with which they identify themselves. Are farm people, when they say they belong to the middle class, really identifying themselves with the same occupational strata as are the urban people who so identify themselves? For answer one need but glance at Figure 10 where the respective urban and rural definitions of the middle class are compared. In all essential respects the profiles of occupational membership are strikingly similar, but it is clear also that farmers who say they are middle class are much more often convinced that farmers belong to that class than are urban middle class people. Precisely the same sort of generalization may be made with respect to the comparison of urban and rural definitions of the working class as shown in Figure 11.

<sup>7</sup> For data on this point see Table 97 in Appendix III.

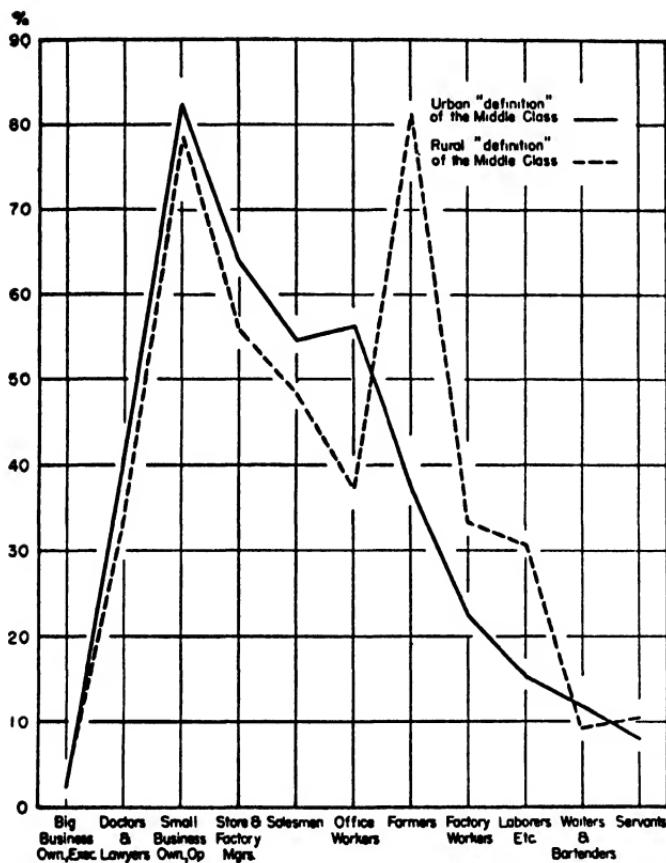


FIGURE 10. Comparison of Urban and Rural Definitions of the Middle Class

Points on the lines above each occupational category indicate the percentage of persons who say members of that occupational category are members of the middle class

### *Criteria for Inclusion in One's Own Class*

IN seeking a social definition of the several classes, the assumption that occupation is a primary criterion of class composition has proved to be a useful one. It is true that it has had no definitive previous research to establish it, but it does certainly seem a reasonable hypothesis to hold in virtue of the views expressed by the bulk of the treatises on the subject of

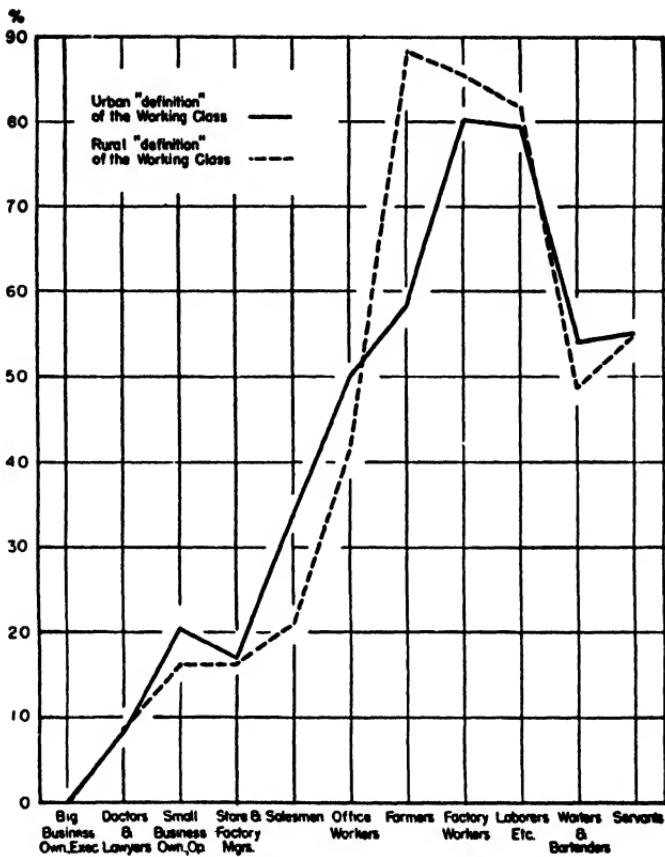


FIGURE II. Comparison of Urban and Rural Definitions of the Working Class

Points on the lines above each occupational category indicate the percentage of persons who say members of that occupational category are members of the working class

classes by sociologists and anthropologists. The people can and do use occupation to define social classes if asked to do so. But the problem of criteria is certainly not thereby to be regarded as a closed one. It was suspected that several criteria besides occupation might be important. In order to push insight into this aspect of the problem somewhat further, the people of the cross section were asked, "In deciding whether a person belongs to your class or not, which of these other

things do you think is most important to know: who his family is, how much money he has, what sort of education he has, or how he believes and feels about certain things?" Results for the general public are summarized in Table 21.

TABLE 21  
Criteria for Own Class Membership Other than Occupation

Per Cent Saying*	
Beliefs and Attitudes	47.4
Education	29.4
Family	20.1
Money	17.1
Character and Morals	1.7
Occupation, "Just Occupation"	1.3
Personality	.9
Behavior, Manners	.8
Ability, Achievements	.5
"Whether or not He Works with His Hands"	.3
Intelligence	.1
Don't Know	9.1

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. People gave more than one criterion.

*Nearly half of the population thinks that the most important thing to know about a person from the standpoint of membership in its class is (other than occupation)<sup>8</sup> the way the person "believes and feels about certain things."* There is a wealth of implication in such a finding, for it is just the possession of common ideologies, attitudes, values and interests that are commonly supposed to be basic to the formation of class consciousness. The conception of classes as interest

<sup>8</sup> Because people had just been asked to define their class in terms of its occupational membership, the "which of these other" phrase was believed necessary in order to avoid what might appear to respondents as an unwelcome repetition of a question they had, in a sense, just answered. Its inclusion necessarily limits the generality of the resulting responses to criteria other than occupation. From it one can infer nothing concerning the relative importance of these criteria in comparison with occupation. Further study is required before this important relationship can be determined.

groups is clearly not an unfounded one in terms of this evidence, and it strikingly confirms the findings presented in the preceding chapter.

The primacy of beliefs and attitudes as a criterion of class membership is general (Table 22). It is the first criterion of every class (except the lower, and here the number of cases is too small to be taken as more than suggestive), and it is likewise first with every occupational stratum (Table 23). Other criteria vary in importance from class to class. The people in the upper and middle classes more frequently emphasize family and education than do those of the working class. The latter also are noticeably less able to respond in a definite way than the middle and upper class people, though no obvious reason why this should be so suggests itself. These trends in behavior appear to characterize the situation obtaining with respect to the criteria used by specific occupational groups also. The higher occupational groups tend to emphasize family and education more than the lower ones. But they also give appreciably greater numbers of responses, so that critical comparison is made somewhat difficult.

TABLE 22

Criteria of Own Class Membership (Other than Occupation) Used by Persons Claiming Membership in the Several Classes  
(See text for exact wording of question.)

Class	N <sup>o</sup>	% Family	% Money	% Education	% Beliefs and Attitudes	% Other Criteria	% Don't Know
Upper	29†	41.3	17.2	34.5	65.5	3.4	—
Middle	464	23.9	16.6	41.0	51.3	5.7	3.4
Working	557	16.9	18.3	21.0	44.2	5.7	13.5
Lower	13†	—	46.2	38.5	23.1	46.2‡	23.1

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. More than one criterion was often named.

† Obviously too few cases for statistical adequacy. Included here as merely suggestive of a trend.

‡ Includes one mention each for the following: Occupation, "Whether or not he works with his hands," intellect, achievements, behavior, character.

TABLE 23

Psychological Differences of Occupational Strata: Criteria for Own Class Membership Other than Occupation  
(See text for exact wording of question.)

	N*	% Family	% Money	% Education	% Beliefs and Attitudes	% Other Criteria†	% Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>							
<b>A. All Business, Professional, and White Collar</b>	423	22.0	18.9	39.2	51.8	7.1	4.3
<i>(Detailed Groupings for A and B)</i>							
<b>B. All Manual Workers</b>	409	17.6	16.4	23.7	46.2	6.1	13.4
1. Large Business	54	25.9	18.5	29.6	57.4	3.7	5.6
2. Professional	72	15.3	22.2	56.9	58.3	1.4	1.4
3. Small Business	129	26.4	16.3	40.3	47.3	8.5	5.4
4. White Collar	168	20.2	19.6	33.9	50.6	9.5	4.2
5. Skilled Manual	162	19.1	12.3	25.3	51.2	8.0	11.7
6. Semi-skilled	170	17.6	20.6	23.5	42.9	5.9	11.2
7. Unskilled	77	14.3	15.6	20.8	42.9	2.6	22.1
<i>Rural</i>							
<b>C. Farm Owners and Managers</b>	153	22.2	13.1	22.9	47.7	3.3	9.8
<b>D. Farm Tenants and Laborers</b>	67	19.4	22.4	25.4	35.8	7.9	1.5

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. More than one criterion was often given.

† Includes "just occupation," "Whether or not he works with his hands," intellect, achievement, behavior, character, morals, and personality.

*Criteria and Causes for Membership  
in the Several Classes in General*

It does not follow, of course, that the criteria one uses to determine the membership of one's own class are identical with those used to assign persons to other classes. But people do use something, and the attempt was made to discover what these criteria are.

*The Criteria for the Upper Class*

The subjects of the cross section were asked, "What would you say puts a person in the upper social class?" Figures for the total cross section and for each class are given in Table 24.

TABLE 24

Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Upper Class  
Q24a. What would you say puts a person in the upper social class?

<i>Per Cent Saying*</i>	<i>National</i> (N = 1097)	<i>Upper Class</i> (N = 29)†	<i>Middle Class</i> (N = 467)	<i>Working Class</i> (N = 564)	<i>Lower Class</i> (N = 13)†
Wealth, Income	66.8	34.5	70.7	66.5	53.8
Education	24.1	31.0	23.3	24.5	53.8
Family Origins, Family Position, etc.	13.9	34.5	17.3	11.0	—
Abilities, Achievements	7.0	3.4	8.6	6.0	7.7
Good Character, Leadership, "Welfare Contributions"	6.0	17.2	6.4	5.0	7.7
Attitudes and Beliefs	5.9	20.7	7.1	4.1	15.4
Power, Influence, Prestige	3.9	—	3.9	4.3	7.7
Way of Life, Manners, Conduct, Breeding, Culture, Refinement, etc.	3.4	13.8	4.5	1.8	—
High-ranking Occupation, or Position	3.3	—	5.1	2.0	7.7
Associates, "Society," Club Membership	3.0	3.4	3.9	2.1	—
Personality, Dress, Appearance	2.5	6.9	2.8	2.0	—
Intelligence	1.3	3.4	1.7	.5	—
Leisure	.9	—	.4	1.4	—
Graft, Dishonesty, etc.	.5	—	.2	.7	—
"There Is No Upper Class"	1.5	—	2.4	.7	—
No Opinion	5.2	—	2.8	6.4	15.4

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Many people named two or more criteria.

† Figures obviously are too small for statistical reliability, and are included here as suggestion only.

Wording of this question presented difficulties, for the idea of criteria is not an easy one to translate into common speech. That the "put" did not entirely succeed in conveying the idea of criteria will be obvious from inspection of the extended list of responses. While most people did give answers that are reasonably interpretable as criteria, some gave replies that suggest that they were thinking in terms of causes or mechanisms used by people in getting into the upper class. At any rate, there is pretty fair agreement in the relative importance of various criteria and causes between the two classes for which reliable samples are available (i.e. the middle and working classes). *Wealth or income is the distinctive mark of upper class membership* to both of them, but education and family connections are also important, though rather poor seconds and thirds, with both the middle and working classes. The upper class people, it is interesting to note, use somewhat different criteria from those of outsiders. Wealth is to them no more important (in terms of frequency, at least) than family origin, and both of these are only slightly more important than education. Also, it is suggestive that they use character and leadership, attitudes and beliefs, and such outward signs as ways of life, manners, conduct, breeding and culture much more than do those of other classes.

### *The Criteria for the Lower Class*

"What puts a person in the lower class?" Here people again give answers in terms of both criteria and causes (Table 25). The most obvious answer is "being poor," and it is by a considerable margin the most frequent one received. Poor education or lack of education is next. A surprisingly large proportion of people appear to think of the lower class as a rather despicable group. Poor character and low morals, drink, crime, lack of ability, low intelligence, shiftlessness, laziness, lack of ambition or motivation, menial labor, etc., all indicate the disesteem in which this group is held. The middle and working classes differ little in their responses on the whole. For both of them the term lower class frequently connotes a despised or *déclassé* group. The lower class itself is

## 96 CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND STRUCTURE

scarcely present in sufficient number to defend itself, but those that are present say poverty and lack of education are either the factors that put them there or are the signs by which they distinguish themselves from others.

TABLE 25

Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Lower Class  
Q24b. What would you say puts a person in the lower social class?

Per Cent Saying*	National (N = 1097)	Upper Class (N = 29)	Middle Class (N = 467)	Working Class (N = 564)	Lower Class (N = 13)
Poverty	33.7	24.1	33.8	34.6	38.5
Poor Education or Lack of Education	22.5	10.3	27.8	19.0	38.5
Poor Character and Low Morals (except drink and crime)	12.8	27.6	11.1	12.9	—
Habits, Conduct, Behavior, Way of Life	9.9	17.2	11.3	8.7	7.7
Lack of Motivation or Ambition	9.6	10.3	11.8	8.2	—
Laziness, Shiftlessness, etc.	9.3	3.4	9.0	10.1	—
Attitudes and Beliefs	5.5	3.4	5.4	5.7	7.7
Family Origins	5.4	10.3	6.4	4.6	—
Lack of Opportunity	4.9	6.9	4.7	4.9	7.7
Low Intelligence	4.6	10.3	7.1	2.3	—
Lack of Ability	4.3	3.4	5.1	3.9	—
Drink	3.9	—	3.4	4.6	7.7
“Poor Management”	3.3	—	4.1	2.8	7.7
Occupation, Menial Labor, etc.	2.7	—	3.4	2.5	—
Bad Luck	1.9	6.9	1.1	2.1	—
Associates	1.9	—	1.7	2.1	—
Crime	1.5	3.4	1.9	.9	—
Fear, Timidity, Lack of Self-Confidence	1.5	—	1.7	1.4	—
“Unfair Pay,” “Exploitation,” “Economic System”	1.1	—	.4	1.8	—
“There Is No Lower Class”	.7	—	.4	.9	—
No Opinion	6.6	10.3	3.2	8.2	7.7

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Respondents named several factors.

Those who have wondered why in previous studies so few people called themselves lower class certainly can find the answer here. Those who might be logically supposed to so identify themselves, i.e. laborers, shun such an opprobrious term, reserving it for the unworthy people they despise. They

prefer, in overwhelming numbers, to call themselves "working class," a name that one could conceivably hold with dignity and self respect. One cannot assume, of course, that working class and lower class have precisely the same meaning in terms of stratification, for the few data that exist for the occupational definition of the lower class suggest that the lower class category is a more exclusively manual labor grouping than is the working class (compare Figures 6 and 8). The working class embraces as membership all the strata claimed by the lower, but it includes strata that apparently people of the lower class dare not claim.

The data cited in Table 24 also suggest an explanation for the fact that few people claim membership in the upper class. A scrutiny of the qualifications for membership—namely wealth, education, family heritage, ability, achievement, good character, leadership, power, influence, prestige, high ranking occupation or position, club membership, dress, intelligence and leisure—shows that such criteria of esteem far outnumber those connoting disapprobation such as "graft" or "dishonesty" which a trivial few insist upon. Could many people meet such requirements? The answer is plainly no. The upper class is, further, clearly identified with the top occupational strata, especially the economically dominant big business owners and executives, and, as such, it is certain to be an exclusive class, for the number of people of such status is an insignificant one in terms of the total population.

### *The Criteria for the Middle Class*

There still remain to be examined the criteria (and causes) for membership in the two main classes, namely the middle and working.<sup>9</sup> Those for the middle class are given in Table 26. In terms of the national totals, money, income, etc., are

<sup>9</sup> Because of the limited funds available at the time of the initial survey in 1945, and other considerations such as the desire to avoid wearying respondents with repetitious questions and the necessity for holding the interview time to a reasonable length, data on the criteria for the middle and working classes were not obtained at that time. The data summarized in Tables 26, 27, 28, and 29 concerning these classes were secured in a later study carried out in 1947 through the cooperation of the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll).

the main criteria for this class just as they are for the upper, but to a far less definitive extent. Whereas two-thirds of the cross section say these are what "puts" a person in the upper class only somewhat over one-third of the people use them to assign persons to the middle class. Many (especially members of the middle class themselves) qualify their use of such criteria by statements such as "not rich, not poor," "live comfortably," "all necessities and some luxuries," or give such a description as their only answer to this question. Education is the next most frequent criterion, but it too is distinctly not so important for middle class membership as it is for upper (compare Table 24). It is noteworthy that members of the upper and middle classes more commonly think of it as a reason for membership in the middle class than working and lower class people do. These latter groups think education much more important for upper class affiliation (cf. Table 24). A similar statement might be made regarding such criteria as family, position and environment. They seem more

TABLE 26

Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Middle Class  
Q. What would you say puts a person in the middle class?

Per Cent Saying*	National (N = 1516)†	Upper Class (N = 44)	Middle Class (N = 582)	Working Class (N = 790)	Lower Class (N = 48)
Money, Income, etc.	36	36	39	34	46
Not Rich, Not Poor, Live Comfortably, All Necessities and Some Luxuries, etc.	13	7	20	9	4
Education	13	20	18	8	8
Owning Small Business, Profession or Trade	11	5	7	15	4
Family, Position, Environment	9	11	13	5	10
Property or Security	6	2	5	7	12
Good Job, Steady Job	6	2	5	6	10
Salaried Work, White Collar Work	4	2	4	4	—
"Working People"	2	5	3	2	—
"Good Citizen"	1	—	1	‡	—
No Opinion	18	25	9	22	21

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Many people named more than one criterion.

† Includes some persons who did not identify with any class.

‡ Less than one-half of one per cent.

important to middle class and upper class people than to others, and rank just after education with them.

To the members of the working class the most important criterion of middle class membership after money or income is the ownership of a small business, profession or trade; in sum, being an independent operator or proprietor of some kind. *This is a distinctive mark to them.* No working class person, as can be seen in Table 27, uses it as a sign of his own class.

Owning property or having security of income is the next most frequent criterion for middle class membership in terms of the national figures, and to the lower class it is second only to money or income in importance. Having a good job or a steady job, which comes next in the national figures, also is given considerable emphasis by this latter group.

It no doubt must be a surprise to the many social scientists who have so often attempted to assign salaried and white collar workers to the middle class that so few of the American people actually appear to consider salaried or white collar work a reason for such assignment. *Only 4 per cent of this national*

TABLE 27

Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Working Class  
Q. What would you say puts a person in the working class?

Per Cent Saying*	National (N = 1518)†	Upper Class (N = 44)	Middle Class (N = 583)	Working Class (N = 791)	Lower Class (N = 48)
"Working for a Living"	26	20	13	37	21
Manual, Common, Mill or Factory Work or Labor	23	18	26	20	33
Lack of Income	14	14	14	14	19
Being an Employee or Wage Worker	10	—	9	11	4
Lack of Education or Training	7	16	13	4	4
Kind of Job, Type of Work	6	11	9	4	12
Lack of Security	4	2	3	5	2
Position or Background	2	5	4	1	—
Average Income	1	—	2	1	—
No Opinion	11	18	13	7	10

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Many people named more than one criterion.

† Includes some persons who did not identify with any class.

*cross section indicated salaried or white collar work as a criterion.* No person in the lower class, and only 2 per cent of upper class people gave it as a reason. The suggestion is certainly strong that if this has ever in itself been a factor in identifying people with the middle class it has become much less important and is much less important now. But the question needs some further analysis before any acceptance of this suggestion, and it will be returned to later on.

### *The Criteria for the Working Class*

When one turns to examine the criteria for inclusion in the working class (Table 27) it cannot help but strike one as highly significant that *the most distinctive criterion given for membership in this class is "working for a living."* In terms of such a loose and general (though no less meaningful) criterion, it is no wonder that so many white collar and salaried workers have joined the ranks of the working class to swell its numbers into the major class in the social structure. To many, doubtless, it matters little that one is salaried or white collared. He works for a living—that puts him in the working class. Such, one might guess, must be the rationale of many people who identify themselves with the working class at least, for "working for a living" is by far the most important reason for working class assignation given by the working class affiliates themselves.

But there is no doubt that something more definite than just "working for a living" serves to put people in the working class. Almost as important for such membership, in terms of the percentage of the population mentioning them, are such criteria as manual labor or work, common labor, mill or factory work or labor. *It is plain that the criteria for the working class are overwhelmingly status, function and role with respect to the economy of production and exchange.* If "working for a living," manual labor, etc., being an employee or wage worker, kind of job, type of work and position or background all be considered together, it can be seen that 67 per cent of the respondents named such criteria (national totals considered). Lack of income, given by 14 per cent of respondents, and lack

of education or training, given by 7 per cent, are not unimportant criteria for the working class, but they are certainly far less important for it than they are for the lower class (compare Table 25 with Table 27). Indeed these are less important factors for working class assignation than for any other class assignation, upper, middle or lower!

### *Salaried and White Collar Work as Bases for Class Distinctions*

One of the most striking facts disclosed by these data on class criteria is shown in Table 27, where the criteria for the working class are summarized, and those used by the several classes are contrasted. It can be seen there that nearly three times as many people who identify with the working class name "working for a living" as a criterion of that class as people who are identified with the middle class do—37 per cent as compared with 13 per cent. Another significant contrast is in the use of the "manual labor . . ." type of criterion between these two classes. The middle class person names it more often than the working class individual does. Moreover, the people of the middle class name it twice as often as "working for a living" as a criterion for the working class (26 per cent compared to 13 per cent). But something like the reverse of this holds for the relative emphasis given these two criteria by the people of the working class. To them "working for a living" is almost twice as important a criterion for their class as working with one's hands (i.e. manual labor, etc.). The percentages are 37 and 20 respectively.

Now it was pointed out previously that being a white collar worker did not appear to be an important criterion for the middle class, for only 4 per cent of either the middle class or the working class name it as a criterion. But these relationships that have just been described clearly suggest that more use is made of the fact of being a white collar worker in class distinctions than the criteria given for the middle class would lead one to suppose. *The situation seems to be somewhat like this*: Being a white collar or salaried worker is not nearly so much a strong reason for putting a person in the middle class

as being a salaried or white collar worker is a reason for *not* putting a person in the working class, since manual work and working for wages *are* such important criteria for that class. The effect is to make the *white collar work* vs. *manual work* and *salaried work* vs. *wage work* dichotomies both important bases for class distinction in virtue of their importance as criteria for working class affiliation, and the psychological effect is to push white collar workers toward identification with the middle class. (About 61 per cent of white collar workers identify with the middle class and an additional 2 per cent identify with the upper class.)

### *Stratum and Class Differences in Criteria*

It is suggested in the foregoing discussion that from the differences in emphasis on criteria between classes certain insights may be gained as to the rationale for recruitment to the various classes. More concretely it has been suggested that, *by and large*, white collar workers and others who do not work with their hands or for wages are recruited to the middle class because they don't, and because they consider manual and wage work important criteria for membership in another (the working) class. Many of them see their role and status as different from the manual worker's role and status and (to interpret freely) they consider this important. Not working with their hands or for wages gives them something in common with the middle class and forms at least part of their rationale for identifying with it. But the fact remains that they do work for a living, which, because it is an important qualification for membership in the working class might well serve to identify them with that class if they considered it important. *But, by and large, they don't.* In Table 27 it can be seen that those who identify with the middle class lay twice as much stress on manual work as a criterion for the working class as they do on working for a living. Can it not be a reasonable inference that it is the very structure of the person's thinking and feeling about his role and status that recruits him into or identifies him with a social class? Is it not significantly in keeping with this hypothesis, too, that people who do

identify themselves with the working class almost exactly reverse the emphasis on these two criteria, placing nearly twice as much emphasis on working for a living as they do on manual work as a criterion for their class? The suggestion is strong that it is people whose outlooks upon things are similar and who evaluate things in similar ways who form themselves into the same social class.

But more evidence, something in the way of a crucial test, is demanded to support such an hypothesis. In searching for one, the thought came to the writer that such a test might be supplied, although in a rather crude sense, in a comparison of the class criteria in use by people of common occupational position but of different class allegiance.

Business, professional and white collar people are predominantly identified with the middle class, but a sizable minority of them are affiliated with the working class. Now if it is to be supposed that common ways of people's conceiving their class are factors recruiting them to it, it should be found that this minority group of working class affiliates within the business, professional and white collar stratum tends to stress the same criteria for the working class as would be stressed by the majority of that class. The majority of the class is found in the manual stratum, of course. Further, these working class affiliates from the business, professional and white collar stratum should differ in their stresses on criteria from middle class affiliates in their stratum and differ in the direction characteristic of their class as a whole.

In Table 28 are data which substantially support the foregoing interpretation. *The predicted relationships are there.* The business, professional and white collar affiliates of the working class lay very much the same stresses on the various criteria for that class as the manual portion of the working class does. Both stress working for a living far more than manual work, and the differences between middle and working class affiliates within the same occupational stratum are in the predicted direction beyond doubt.

Only with regard to two of the criteria do business, professional and white collar affiliates of the working class differ appreciably from the manual workers of that class. They lay

TABLE 28

Stratum and Class Differences in Criteria for the Working Class:  
 Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Identification Varied  
 Q. What would you say puts a person in the working class?

Per Cent Saying*	ALL BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR		ALL MANUAL WORKERS	
	Middle Class (N = 335)	Working Class (N = 191)	Middle Class (N = 126)	Working Class (N = 439)
"Working for a Living"	10	40	16	39
Manual Work, Common Labor,				
Mill or Factory Work	30	15	18	23
Lack of Income	14	18	19	13
Being an Employee or Wage Worker	9	12	10	12
Lack of Education or Training	13	4	13	4
Kind of Job, Type of Work	10	2	4	5
Lack of Security	3	6	3	5
Position or Background	5	1	2	†
Average Income	2	1	3	1
No Opinion	11	7	17	6

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Respondents named more than one criterion in some cases.

† Less than one-half of one per cent.

somewhat less emphasis on manual work and somewhat more emphasis on lack of income as qualifications for membership. But if they want to be identified with the working class it is not to be expected, in view of their objective position, that they should stress qualifications that would bar them, but rather that they should emphasize those that gain them entrance. Having low income perhaps in a sense thus compensates for not being a manual worker with them. It is shown in a later chapter that low economic status markedly influences the class identifications of this group, so that economic factors are doubtless involved in recruitment.

So far, the hypothesis that common ways of evaluating the criteria of class distinction are factors integral to the structuring of social classes has received undeniable support. But still another test is possible.

The middle class, like the working class, is inhomogeneous as far as the occupational status of its affiliates is concerned. Most come from the business, professional and white collar stratum, but many are manual workers. Now if common ways of conceiving the qualifications for a class are typical of its membership and are factors in the membership's identification with it, the minority group of manual workers who identify themselves with the middle class should emphasize the same criteria as the majority of the middle class. This majority of middle class people is business, professional and white collar by occupation. Further, the manual worker affiliates should differ appreciably in respect to emphases of these criteria from those of their stratum who are affiliated with the working class, and should differ in the direction characteristic of the majority of middle class affiliates.

In Table 29 it can be seen that the actual data in the comparisons presented there are entirely consonant with these requirements.

The respective sectors of the middle class, regardless of the difference in their objective positions, manifest similar patterns of stresses on the qualifications for membership in their class. Both emphasize the "not rich, not poor," "live comfortably" type of criteria more than people of their respective strata but of working class membership do. Further, they both place more emphasis on education and on family, position and background, and lay less emphasis on owning a small business, profession or trade and on having property or security.

In only one or two instances is there a finding that constitutes a clear exception to the expected pattern. The manual workers who identify with the middle class do not emphasize salaried or white collar work quite so much as business, professional and white collar affiliates to the middle class do. But they should not be expected to be very conscious of this as a qualification, since, being manual workers, it would tend to raise a barrier to their identification with this class. The manual workers also emphasize money or income considerably less than do those of the middle class who are business, professional and white collar in occupation, probably for this same reason. That is, since their incomes are generally not

TABLE 29

Stratum and Class Differences in Criteria for the Middle Class:  
 Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Identification Varied  
 Q. What would you say puts a person in the middle class?

Per Cent Saving*	ALL BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR		ALL MANUAL WORKERS	
	Middle Class (N = 335)	Working Class (N = 191)	Middle Class (N = 126)	Working Class (N = 439)
Money, Income, etc.	42	43	30	32
Not Rich, Not Poor, Live Comfortably, All Necessities and Some Luxuries, etc.	19	9	21	10
Education	20	7	15	8
Owning a Small Business, Profession or Trade	8	12	5	18
Family, Position, Background and Environment	13	9	17	4
Property or Security	5	10	5	8
Good Job, Steady Job	5	5	7	7
Salaried Work, White Collar Work	7	2	1	5
"Being Working People"	3	2	3	1
"Being a Good Citizen"	1	1	—	†
No Opinion	8	15	11	23

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. Respondents named more than one criterion in some cases.

† Less than one-half of one per cent.

high, great emphasis on money or income as a criterion of the class they identify themselves with could not be expected.

Despite these exceptions, which do seem to reflect differences in objective status, the data as a whole, in all of these comparisons, serve to indicate that members of the respective classes, regardless of objective differences in status, tend to evaluate the criteria of class distinction and to define the qualifications for membership in their own classes in quite similar ways. It is important to class theory that such a tendency exists, beyond doubt, for the holding of common views and the possession of common attitudes by social classes are just the factors supposed to be constituent to their structure.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

#### *Stratification Differences in Class Identification, Attitude and Behavior*

THE two major aspects of class consciousness, namely politico-economic orientation and class identification, have both now been introduced, their relationships to occupational stratification have been analyzed<sup>1</sup> in some detail, and their significance to an interest group theory of class structure has been briefly noted. The last chapter, which dealt with class identifications, the social definitions of the various classes, and class criteria, because of the ramifications of these subjects, necessitated considerable discussion, and has unavoidably tended to interrupt the direct and intensive consideration of the interest group theory. The field is, however, with these tasks accomplished, now cleared for a more thorough and critical consideration of this theory than was practicable before, and this and the following chapter will be devoted to an appraisal of its validity in terms of the data this research has yielded.

#### *Summary Review of Occupation and Class Consciousness*

<sup>1</sup> Does a person's status and role with respect to the economic order of society give rise in him to a complex or pattern of attitudes, interests and beliefs as well as to a consciousness of membership in a group which shares those attitudes, interests and beliefs as this interest group theory demands?

If this is the case, then one should expect to find large differences in people's politico-economic orientations or attitudes, to conform to their differences in status and role. *Such differences are found.* In Chapter V the differences in conservatism-radicalism were shown to have a positive and substantial relationship to people's economic status and role as that status and role was indicated by occupational position! Especially striking

were the differences in conservatism-radicalism to be seen between large business owners and managers on the one hand and the unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers on the other. All this is in complete accord with theory.

It would also appear entirely in accord with theory to find that groups whose occupational position is intermediate between these two poles of status have attitude characteristics reflecting this intermediate position. This also is clearly found. (It will be helpful here to review Figure 3.) Some students of social classes have rather naively supposed that an interest group theory of class such as that under consideration here demanded a sharp break or cleavage in attitudes at some point in the occupational or socio-economic hierarchy, but the theory would appear to demand no such phenomenon. Instead, one might reasonably expect to find that persons occupying positions near the middle of the array would not infrequently be of different minds with respect to conserving or destroying the prevailing economic and political policies and balances of power, and this is precisely what one does discover to be the case. Moreover, one might expect to find that as people's status and role more nearly approximated the poles of the system more of them would tend to have the attitudes characteristic of a given "pole" than would those found near the center of the status gradation. All this, as a casual glance at Figure 3 in Chapter V will show, is quite clearly the actual state of affairs.

But what of that other aspect of the theory; that which implies that persons occupying different positions with respect to the processes of production and exchange should have different class affiliations? Here, too, facts are in essential harmony with the trend to be expected. An examination of the class affiliations of occupational strata as shown by Figure 9 confirms theoretical expectation, and confirms it in substantially the same way as has already been found to be the case with respect to attitudes. People at opposite poles of the occupational order have such widely different class identifications that there can be no mistaking the fact that the members of the strata at the top of the occupational order, in overwhelming majority, declare themselves to be members of classes to which

only small minorities of the lowest occupational strata will claim membership. The converse is equally true, or nearly so at least. Lower stratum people do not in any great numbers identify themselves with the same social classes as higher placed persons do. Also, "members" of strata in the middle of the array, as might be expected, again, have divided loyalties.<sup>1</sup> Single strata such as white collar workers or skilled manual workers, though showing a difference in class affiliation between themselves that is so large as to approach the kind of cleavage that some students of modern social classes have anticipated, nevertheless betray the intermediate character of their positions by less solidarity of affiliation within their given stratum being shown. [The cleavage toward stratum polarities with respect to class identification has clearly advanced even farther than it has with respect to politico-economic attitudes, and is essentially similar in character.]

### *Other Stratification Indices and Class Consciousness*

If one doubts that these class membership and conservatism-radicalism relationships are general manifestations of socio-economic stratification, then scrutiny of the relationships of class affiliation and conservatism-radicalism to other stratification indices will be certain to reassure him, for there (Tables 30, 31, 32 and 33) the same patterns of relationship are manifested as those shown between these variables and occupation.<sup>1</sup> With respect to class affiliation the same sort of polarity of membership is shown between the poor and wealthy as is shown for upper and lower occupational groups (Table 30). Again, with respect to power or dominance-subordination stratification (Table 31) a substantially similar polarity is found. The relationship of conservatism-radicalism to economic stratification shows the polarity again (Table 32). The relationship of conservatism-radicalism to power stratification (Table 33) is much the same. *Apparently it makes no great difference what index to socio-economic stratification one employs—whether it is occupational, economic, or power stratification—the resulting relationships to class affiliation and*

TABLE 30  
Economic, or Standard of Living Stratification, and Class Affiliation

							% Total Upper Plus Middle Classes	% Total Upper Plus Middle	For "Total Upper plus Middle" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Total Cross Section</i>									
A. Wealthy	49	25	61	10	—	4	—	86	A & C,D,E
B. Average Plus	135	4	80	15	0.5	—	0.5	84	B & C,D,E
C. Average	345	2	58	38	0.3	0.9	0.8	60	C & A,D,E
D. Poor Plus	275	2	28	68	0.7	1	0.3	30	D & A,B,C,E
E. Poor	292	1	18	75	3	2	1	19	E & A,B,C,D
<i>Urban</i>									
A. Wealthy	44	23	64	9	—	4	—	87	A & C,D,E
B. Average Plus	112	3	84	11	1	—	1	87	B & C,D,E
C. Average	251	2	63	33	0.4	—	1.6	65	C & A,B,D,E
D. Poor Plus	220	2	29	67	0.5	1.5	0.5	31	D & A,B,C,E
E. Poor	247	—	20	75	3	1	1	20	E & A,B,C,D
<i>Rural</i>									
A. Wealthy	5*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B. Average Plus	23†	9	61	30	—	—	—	70	—
C. Average	94	—	45	51	—	4	—	45	—
D. Poor Plus	55	2	24	71	1.5	1.5	—	26	D & C
E. Poor	45	2	11	76	2	9	—	13	E & C

\* Percentages not shown because too few cases.

† Too small a figure to be considered in statistical comparisons.

TABLE 31  
Power, or Dominance-Subordination Stratification and Class Affiliation

	N	% Upper Class	% Middle Class	% Working Class	% Lower Class	% Don't Know	% Don't Be- lieve in Classes	% Total Upper plus Middle	For "Upper plus Middle" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Total Cross Section</i>									
A. Employers	157	10	60	27	—	2	1	70	A & C,E
B. Managers	116	3	75	20	0.7	0.7	0.6	78	B & C,E
C. Independents	180	1	43	53	0.5	2	0.5	44	C & A,B,E
D. Tenants	30*	—	30	57	—	13	—	30	
E. Employees	583	2	33	63	1	0.5	0.5	35	E & A,B,C
<i>Urban</i>									
A. Employers	110	10	68	19	—	2	1	78	A & C,D
B. Managers	113	3	74	20	1	1	1	77	B & C,D
C. Independents	71	—	48	47	1	1	3	48	C & A,B,D
D. Employees	550	2	34	62	1	0.4	0.6	36	D & A,B,C
<i>Rural</i>									
A. Employers	47	9	40	47	—	4	—	49	
B. Managers	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
C. Independents	109	1	39	57	1	2	—	40	
D. Tenants	30*	—	30	57	—	13	—	30	
E. Employees	33*	3	6	85	3	3	—	9	

\* Obviously too insignificant a number for statistical comparison. Included here as suggestion only.

TABLE 32  
Economic, or Standard of Living Stratification and Conservatism-Radicalism

	N	% Ultra-Conservative	% Conserv-ative	% Indeter-minate	% Radical	% Ultra Radical	% Total Conserv-atives	For "Total Conserv-atives" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Total Cross Section</i>								
A. Wealthy	49	55	31	8	2	4	86	A & C,D,E
B. Average Plus	135	41	34	16	3	6	75	B & C,D,E
C. Average	345	29	32	25	8	6	61	C & A,B,D,E
D. Poor Plus	275	12	27	36	16	9	39	D & A,B,C,E
E. Poor	292	10	20	31	24	15	30	E & A,B,C,D
<i>Urban</i>								
A. Wealthy	44	57	30	7	2	4	87	A & C,D,E
B. Average Plus	112	42	34	15	3	6	76	B & C,D,E
C. Average	251	28	30	26	9	7	58	C & A,B,D,E
D. Poor Plus	220	10	27	34	19	10	37	D & A,B,C,E
E. Poor	247	10	18	32	24	16	28	E & A,B,C,D
<i>Rural</i>								
A. Wealthy	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B. Average Plus	23*	39	35	17	5	4	74	C & D,E
C. Average	94	32	39	21	5	3	71	D & C
D. Poor Plus	55	20	29	40	6	5	49	E & C
E. Poor	45	13	31	27	22	7	44	—

\* Too few cases to warrant statistical comparisons.

TABLE 33  
Power, or Dominance-Subordination Stratification and Conservatism-Radicalism

	N	% Ultra-Conservative	% Conserv-ative	% Indeter-minate	% Radical	% Ultra Radical	% Total Conserv-atives	For "Total Conserv-atives," Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Total Cross Section</i>								
A. Employers	157	45	32	16	4	3	77	A & C,E
B. Managers	116	41	35	15	6	3	76	B & C,E
C. Independents	180	27	37	26	7	3	64	C & A,B,E
D. Tenants	30*	17	33	40	3	7	50	
E. Employees	583	12	23	32	20	13	35	E & A,B,C
<i>Urban</i>								
A. Employers	110	48	28	16	6	2	76	A & C,D
B. Managers	113	40	36	15	6	3	76	B & C,D
C. Independents	71	24	38	23	11	4	62	C & A,B,D
D. Employees	550	12	23	33	19	13	35	D & A,B,C
<i>Rural</i>								
A. Employers	47	38	41	17	2	2	79	
B. Managers	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	
C. Independents	109	28	37	27	5	3	65	
D. Tenants	30*	17	33	40	3	7	50	
E. Employees	33*	3	24	27	36	10	27	

\* Obviously too insignificant a number for statistical comparison. Included here as suggestive only.

*politico-economic attitude are in all essential respects quite similar.*

When the three stratification criteria are combined into a single index in the manner described in Chapter IV and a correlation coefficient for this index and class identification is computed, a similarly high, or substantial, degree of covariation is manifest. Occupational status has a correlation with class identification of .69, economic status with class shows a coefficient of .65, "power" status and class identification have a correlation of .47. The stratification index, or stratification score, is correlated to the extent of .67 with class membership. Quite similar degrees of correlation are found, also, for each of the above stratification criteria and conservatism-radicalism, the upper strata in each case being the more conservative. Table 34 summarizes this correlation data.

TABLE 34  
Tetrachoric Correlations of Several Class-Related Variables\*

Strati- fication Score	Occupation- al Status	Economic Status	"Power" Status	Class Affiliation	Conser- vatism- Radicalism	Political Behavior
Stratification Score	—	.93	.90	.92	.67	.61
Occupational Status	.93	—	.76	.79	.69	.56
Economic Status	.90	.76	—	.65	.65	.51
"Power" Status	.92	.79	.65	—	.47	.57
Class Affiliation	.67	.69	.65	.47	—	.49
Conservatism-Radicalism	.61	.56	.51	.57	.49	—
Political Behavior	.43	.37	.45	.31†	.36	.57

\* Dichotomies of variables listed are as follows:

*Stratification Score*—Average and above vs. below average.

*Occupational Status*—Business, Professional, White Collar, and Farm Owners  
Managers vs. Urban Manual Workers and Farm Tenants and Laborers.

*Economic Status*—Wealthy, Average Plus and Average vs. Poor and Poor Plus.

*"Power" Status*—Employers, Managers and Independents vs. Employees and Tenants  
(Farm).

*Class Affiliation*—Upper and Middle vs. Working and Lower.

*Conservatism-Radicalism*—Conservatives vs. Non-Conservatives.

*Political Behavior*—Republican voters vs. all others.

† The approximate probable error ( $1.5 \times$  the probable error of an equivalent product moment  $r$ ) of the smallest coefficient in this table is .028. This is for an  $N$  of 1050. The  $1$  for the other correlations in the table are approximately the same, though usually larger. The slight variation in the number of cases occurs because complete data were not obtained for all subjects.

A substantial degree of relationship is also shown between these variables and political behavior. It has already been noted (Chapter V) that a strong degree of covariation obtains between voting behavior and occupational stratification, but this is also true with respect to voting and economic stratification and voting and dominance-subordination stratification. In each case it is the higher or upper strata who voted most heavily for the Republican candidate (Dewey) in the 1944 election. Tetrachoric correlations computed for political behavior and each of the stratification indices are as follows: voting and occupational status .37, voting and economic status .45, voting and dominance-subordination or power status .31, voting and stratification score .43. All of these correlations indicate a positive and substantial tendency for support of the political party that has stood most firmly for maintenance of the status quo to be strongest in the upper socio-economic strata.

Moreover, these stratification variables are all substantially related to politico-economic behavior, as expressed in union affiliation, or in lack of this, since higher status goes with an absence of union membership (Table 35). The correlation for stratification score and unionism is .50; for occupational status and unionism<sup>1</sup> .53; for economic status and unionism .28; for

TABLE 35  
Tetrachoric Correlations of Union Affiliation with  
Several Class-Related Variables\*

Stratification Score and	Union	Affiliation†	.50
Occupational Status and	"	"	.53
Economic Status and	"	"	.28
Power Status and	"	"	.53
Class Affiliation and	"	"	.32
Conservatism-Radicalism and	"	"	.48

\* For the dichotomization of these variables for computing the tetrachoric, see note in Table 34.

† Dichotomized as Non-Union vs. Union Membership.

<sup>1</sup> The relationship will probably be more clearly grasped if one thinks of higher status being accompanied by less union membership and the lower status being accompanied by more union membership.

"power" status and unionism .53.<sup>2</sup> Such relationships between stratification and unionism are, of course, no new discovery, and it would be laboring the obvious to comment at great length upon them.

It is significant to note, however, that stratification variables show stronger correlations with class affiliation and conservatism-radicalism—that is, with purely psychological variables—than they do with an aspect of socio-economic stratification that has long been taken for granted, as union affiliation has. For example, whereas the correlation between the stratification score and class identification is .67 and that between the stratification score and conservatism-radicalism is .61, the correlation of stratification score and union affiliation is only .50.

The impression is easily gained that though both unionism and political alignments are strongly related to stratification they are not as basically related to stratification as are class alignments and conservative-radical attitudes, and such a view seems to make a good deal of sense to the writer. Unionism and political behavior are both about as highly correlated with conservatism-radicalism as they are with stratification variables (Tables 34 and 35), and indeed they might properly be regarded as the behavioral manifestations of conservative and radical attitudes, which themselves appear to stem from economic sources. There is, to be sure, only covariation upon which to base this inference, and one cannot from that alone say which is cause and which is effect. Some *might* wish to think of socio-economic stratification as an effect of attitudinal and behavioral variables. The writer is prejudiced, however, toward the view that people respond by being conservative or radical in attitude, and by affiliating themselves to classes, political parties and economic combinations such as unions, because their socio-economic positions in some way determine them to do so. Perhaps just what is prior here—whether economic condition, attitude, then behavior, or some other se-

<sup>2</sup> The correlations between these variables and union affiliation would, of course, be higher if the rural population were left out of the sample. In evaluating the over-all picture they must be included, of course, for unions of farm workers and sharecroppers do exist and are in the same category of economic combination as unions of urban workers.

quence of events—is a question that may never be answered. Perhaps the most that one can ever derive from the kind of data which is being dealt with here is concomitancy of association among variables, but even that is an advance, for knowing the character of one, something about the character of the other can be inferred or predicted, and that is, after all, the most important thing from the standpoint of behavioral and social science.

Thus far, the discussion has largely ignored the urban-rural differences in class affiliations and conservative-radical attitudes, or at best has taken only casual note of them, but they deserve more extended discussion. It is obvious throughout the data that have been considered that rural socio-economic strata are somewhat less differentiated with respect to class identification and politico-economic orientations than are urban socio-economic strata. There are several probable reasons for this. One might suppose, for one thing, that the many different economic circumstances of urban as opposed to rural life make for sharper differences in the urban population. Whereas urban workers characteristically work together in close association on the job, farm workers more often work alone and without continuous contact with others. Moreover, to cite another factor, the farm employer, farm manager, and independent owner all often engage in productive manual labor just as do their employees. This is a condition that is characteristically absent in urban industry, where the employer and manager more often play the role of overseer and boss to the exclusion of manual toil. They dress differently, live differently, and talk differently in comparison with their employees. Though they certainly work, the character of their labor has little in common with that of the manual worker.

Again, and as has been noted before, high economic status and high power or dominance status are not as often the accompaniments of each other on the farm as they are in urban industrial communities. Many farm proprietors are poorer than the lowest paid manual workers in the city, and this would seem certain to have an influence upon their class affiliation. Class divisions are clearly not confined to the urban population, but it is not surprising that wider cleavage has

occurred among that population, because the economic dissimilarities are unquestionably much greater. The correlation coefficients cited in Tables 34 and 35 are computed on the basis of the total cross section. *Practically all would be higher if computed for the urban population alone.* For example, the coefficient of correlation of occupational status and class identification for the urban sample alone is .77. The correlation of occupational status with conservatism-radicalism is .59. Also for this sample, stratification score is correlated with class affiliation to the extent of .74, and with conservatism-radicalism to the extent of .63. These are undeniably high and substantial degrees of relationship.

### *Psychological Differences of Social Classes*

THERE surely can be no doubt that socio-economic stratification is accompanied by the kind of psychological differences demanded by the interest group theory of class structure, for just as strata are found differing greatly in class affiliation they are also found differing greatly in attitudes. But it would certainly be a more crucial test of the interest group hypothesis to ask how closely differences in class identification are accompanied by corresponding differences in conservatism-radicalism. Just how intimately are these dual manifestations of class consciousness correlated? If one compares the area of upper and middle class identification shown in Figure 3 with the area of conservative and ultra conservative attitudes shown in Figure 9 it is obvious that there is a striking correspondence as far as stratification is concerned. This relationship can be more readily grasped by a glance at Figure 12, where the percentage identifying themselves with the upper or middle classes and the percentage of those who are conservative or ultra conservative in attitude are directly compared for the several urban occupational strata.

But such evidence is, of course, indirect. What of the direct relation between class identification and conservatism-radicalism? If the interest group hypothesis is valid there should be substantial differences in the attitudes of persons identifying themselves with the different classes. *There are such differ-*

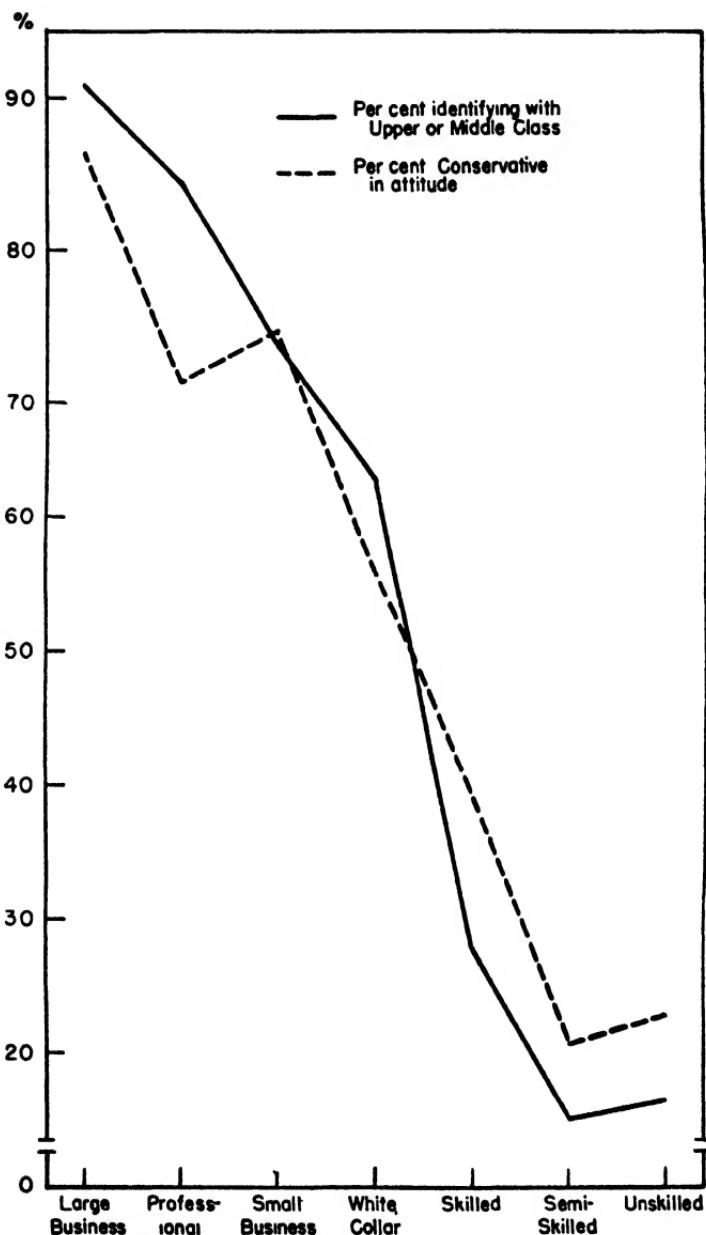


FIGURE 12. Class Identifications and Politico-Economic Attitudes of Urban Occupational Strata

ences. Table 36 and Figure 13 show in detail the magnitude of the contrasting points of view of the various social classes. It is unfortunate that such a small number of people affiliating with the upper and lower classes was found, for the attitude characteristics of the few people who did identify themselves with either of these classes indicate that the largest differences of all are to be found between them (Table 36). Yet, the dif-

TABLE 36  
Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism

N	PER CENT WHO ARE				
	Ultra Conserv- ative	Conserv- ative	Indeter- minate	Radical	Ultra Radical
<i>Total Cross Section</i>					
Upper Class	29*	42	24	17	10
Middle Class	467	35†	33†	21†	7†
Working Class	564	12†	23†	33†	19†
Lower Class	13*	—	23	31	31
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	391	34†	31†	22†	8†
Working Class	435	10†	20†	33†	22†
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	76	41†	38	14†	3
Working Class	129	17†	35	32†	11

\* These cases are obviously too few for statistical reliability, but are included here for the suggestions they have of the general trend.

† Differences between adjacent figures marked thus in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

ferences shown between the middle and working classes are so large as to render the contrasting of extremes unnecessary. And, indeed, since these two latter are numerically the two principal classes in the class system, this and the fact that such large differences in politico-economic attitudes appear between them makes it seem reasonable to regard the difference between them as constituting the principal line of cleavage in the social body, with the upper and lower classes being in a sense allied to the middle and working classes respectively. (At least

what data are furnished by the small number of upper and lower class affiliates suggest that, as far as politico-economic orientations are concerned, there is no essential antagonism between upper and middle class people, nor any between working and lower classes. In computing a tetrachoric correlation for class identification and conservatism-radicalism, as well as

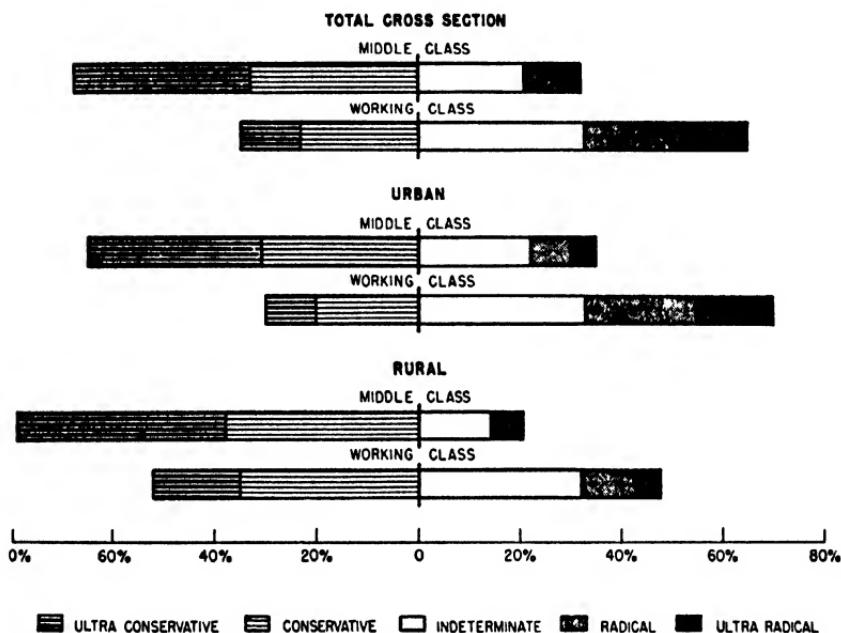


FIGURE 13. Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism

for class identification and other variables, upper and middle classes are grouped together on the one side of the necessary dichotomy with the lower class included with the working class on the other. The correlation coefficient for class affiliation and conservatism-radicalism thus obtained is a substantial one, being .49 for the total cross section. The correlation is higher when only the urban sample is considered, being .53. The correlation of class identification with conservatism-radicalism for the rural population is .41. These are all substantial degrees of relationship, beyond question. The tetrachoric is probably a most conservative index to the actual covariation

here, moreover, since with such broad groupings some more subtle differences are obscured. Examination of Figure 13 indicates that not only is there a large difference between total conservatism or "non-conservatism" between classes, but differences for each of the gradations within conservative and non-conservative categories as well. In Table 36 it is shown that differences between classes are statistically significant for each gradation in the scale, ultra conservative, conservative, indeterminate, radical and ultra radical. Use of some other correlation technique might thus obtain a higher coefficient. The tetrachoric has been employed because it is so often necessary to use it to determine other relationships with the kind of data obtained in this survey, and it would tend to confuse the situation if various relationships were described by coefficients computed by different methods. In any case, the trend obviously is such a one as that demanded by the interest group theory.

When one examines the data for differences between social classes with respect to specific political and economic issues, it is apparent at once that the trend indicated for the test battery as a unit holds for the several items of the battery as well. Differences between social classes with respect to four different items of the battery are exemplified in Tables 37, 38, 39 and 40. It requires no minute dissection of the data in these

TABLE 37  
Class Differences in Attitude: "Working People's Power"  
(Q4 See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

	N	PER CENT SAYING		
		More Power	No More Power	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	389	36*	59*	5
Working Class	434	61*	29*	10
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	76	32*	59*	9
Working Class	128	50*	36*	14

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

tables to discover the trend. With respect to giving working people more power and influence in government, the question of private vs. government ownership of industry, "Individualism" vs. "Collectivism," and the treatment of working people by employers there are consistently large and statistically reliable differences between the middle and working classes, both urban and rural.

TABLE 38  
Class Differences in Attitude: Government vs. Private Ownership of Industry  
(Q5. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

	N	PER CENT			
		For Government Ownership	For Limited Control	For Private Ownership	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	391	13*	3	82*	2
Working Class	433	28*	3	61*	8
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	75	12	4	81	3
Working Class	129	21	—	70	9

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

TABLE 39  
Class Differences in Attitude: "Individualism" vs. "Collectivism"  
(Q6. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

	N	PER CENT WHO ARE			
		"Individual- ists"	Qualified Answerers	"Collectivists"	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	391	73*	1	26*	—
Working Class	432	41*	1	57*	1
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	75	80*	1	19*	—
Working Class	129	67*	—	33*	—

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

TABLE 40

Class Differences in Attitude: Treatment of Working People  
(Q14a. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

	N	PER CENT SAYING			
		Employers Are Fair	Employers Are Unfair	Both Are Unfair	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	388	48*	49*	1	2
Working Class	429	31*	64*	1	4
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	76	57	29*	6	8
Working Class	128	45	45*	2	8

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

TABLE 41

Political Behavior of Social Classes: Vote in the 1944 Presidential Election

	N	% For Dewey (Republican)	% For Roosevelt (Democrat)	% For Other	% Didn't Vote	% Wouldn't Say
<i>Total Cross Section</i>						
Middle Class	461	44*	44*	1	10	1
Working Class	561	24*	59*	0.5	16	0.5
<i>Urban</i>						
Middle Class	384	44*	44*	1	10	1
Working Class	433	20*	62*	1	16	1
<i>Rural</i>						
Middle Class	76	45	45	—	9	1
Working Class	128	38	48	—	14	—

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are significant at the 95 per cent level or better.

There are, further, substantial differences in the political behavior of these two classes (Table 41). Voting<sup>3</sup> and class affiliation are correlated to the extent of .36 when all four classes are included (Table 34). The correlation of class affiliation with union affiliation<sup>4</sup> is .32 for the same sample.

<sup>3</sup> Voting for the Republican candidate tends to go with upper and middle class affiliation.

<sup>4</sup> Not belonging to a union tends to go with affiliation with the upper and middle classes.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE INTEREST GROUP THEORY OF CLASS STRUCTURE: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL (CONTINUED)

#### *Stratum and Class Differences in Attitude and Behavior*

PERHAPS substantiation of the association between class affiliation and politico-economic orientation implied by the interest group theory demands nothing more than the over-all trends toward covariation that have been disclosed, but one can devise still more crucial tests for the closeness of correspondence of the two variables.

An examination of the patterns of class identification shown for the various occupational strata in Figure 9 indicates that considerable numbers of the affiliates of the middle class are not found to be business, professional and white collar workers as is the *majority* of the membership of the middle class, but are instead, manual workers. Now the middle class is both in terms of the definition of its members and in terms of the occupational strata that most characteristically affiliate with it a predominantly business, professional and white collar group. The manual workers identifying themselves with the middle class are thus a minority group, in a sense, within it.

Likewise, one can observe that many people who say they belong in the working class, a predominantly manual worker's group, are not manual workers at all, but are businessmen, professional people, and white collar workers. In a sense they constitute a minority within the working class. Even though it has been seen already, in Chapter VI, that people who identify themselves with the same class demonstrate common ways of thinking in conceiving the qualifications for membership in their class in quite similar terms, and do so irrespective of differences in their objective positions, this can hardly be the complete rationale for such an apparent blurring and confusion of class and stratum memberships. One continues to wonder what induces people whose occupational position

would seem to place them with others whose occupations are similar to identify themselves with groups which appear so unlike themselves in status and role. What else have they in common with them? An interest group concept of class alignment would appear to demand that they have something more.

An answer that suggests itself readily enough is that this something more should at least be a community of interest. One can readily, moreover, test this implication. *If people in the same broad occupational stratum, but of different class affiliations do have interests in common with the classes with which they identify themselves they should differ in attitudes or politico-economic orientations, i.e. in conservatism-radicalism, from the "members" of their own occupational stratum and differ in the direction characteristic of the classes with which they identify themselves.* In Table 42, or even better in

TABLE 42

Stratum and Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism: Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied

Stratum and Class Membership	N	PER CENT WHO ARE			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between		
		Conserv- ative	Indeter- minate	Radical			
URBAN							
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. Middle Class	298	74	20	6	A & B,C,D		
B. Working Class	100	47	30	23	B & A,D		
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
C. Middle Class	83	37	30	33	C & A,D		
D. Working Class	318	25	34	41	D & A,B,C		
RURAL							
<i>Farm Owners and Managers</i>							
V. Middle Class	65	83	12	5	V & X,Z		
X. Working Class	78	59	33	8	X & V,Z		
<i>Farm Tenants and Laborers</i>							
Y. Middle Class	11*	55	27	18			
Z. Working Class	51	43	29	28	Z & V,X		

\* Obviously an inadequate number, and included merely as suggestive of general trend

Figure 14, it is to be clearly seen that this is indeed precisely what does happen to be the case. When stratum "membership," or classification, is held constant and the characteristics of the attitudes of people identifying with the middle class are contrasted with the attitudes of those identifying with the working class within the given strata, substantial and statistically reliable differences in the expected direction are manifest. This is true for comparisons within each of the major urban occupational strata and for each of the rural strata as

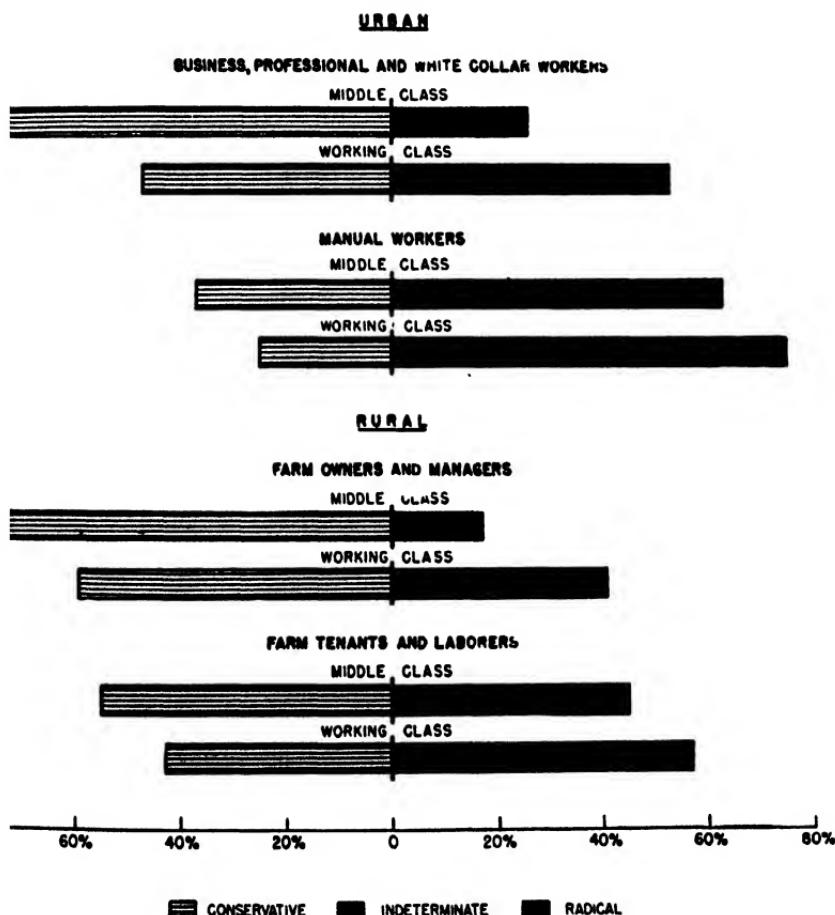


FIGURE 14. Stratum and Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism

well. It would seem that both objective socio-economic position and psychological factors such as common attitudes serve to recruit people to social classes.

Does this pattern of relationships hold for specific politico-economic issues as well? Do people of the same occupational stratum differ in the direction characteristic of the classes with which they identify themselves? *Yes.* An examination of Tables 43, 44, 45, and 46 will indicate that the pattern of relationships is consistently maintained when similar stratum and class comparisons are made for individual items of the

TABLE 43  
Stratum and Class Differences in Attitudes: Working People's Power:  
Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied  
(Q4. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Stratum and Class Membership	N	PER CENT SAYING			For "More" Differences Are Significant Between
		More Power	No More Power	Don't Know	
<i>Business, Professional and White Collar</i>					
A. Middle Class	296	31	66	3	A & B,C,D
B. Working Class	100	54	38	8	B & A
<i>Manual Workers</i>					
C. Middle Class	83	54	36	10	C & A
D. Working Class	317	64	26	10	D & A

TABLE 44  
Stratum and Class Differences in Attitudes: Government vs. Private Ownership of Industry:  
Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied  
(Q5. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Stratum and Class Membership	N	% For Government Ownership	% For Limited Control	% For Private Ownership	% Don't Know	For "Private" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Middle Class	298	9	3	86	2	A & B,C,D
B. Working Class	99	16	4	74	6	B & A,D
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
C. Middle Class	83	25	3	70	2	C & A,D
D. Working Class	317	32	3	57	8	D & A,B,C

conservatism-radicalism battery. The differences are substantial, statistically reliable and in the predicted direction.

To push the analysis somewhat further: Is there a difference in political behavior in the same direction as that pre-

TABLE 45

Stratum and Class Differences in Attitudes: Individualism vs. Collectivism: Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied

(Q6. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Stratum and Class Membership	N	PER CENT WHO				For "Individualists" Differences Are Significant Between
		Are "Individualists"	Give Qualified Answers	Are "Collectivists"	Don't Know	
<i>Business, Professional and White Collar</i>						
A. Middle Class	298	81	1	17	1	A & B,C,D
B. Working Class	100	58	1	40	1	B & A,D
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
C. Middle Class	83	51	1	48	—	C & A,D
D. Working Class	315	35	1	63	1	D & A,B,C

TABLE 46

Stratum and Class Differences in Attitude: Treatment of Working People: Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied

(Q14a. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Stratum and Class Membership	N	PER CENT SAYING				For "Fair" Differences Are Significant Between
		Employers Are Fair	Both Are Unfair	Employers Are Unfair	Don't Know	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Middle Class	295	53	2	43	2	A & B,C,D
B. Working Class	97	40	3	54	3	B & A,D
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
C. Middle Class	83	31	2	65	2	C & A,B
D. Working Class	315	26	1	69	4	D & A,B

dicted for attitude differences? Again the answer is yes. When stratum position is held constant, and people affiliating with the middle and working classes are contrasted in political behavior, as in Table 47, one can clearly see that people in the middle class who are manual workers by occupation tend more frequently to vote like people in the middle class who are

TABLE 47

Stratum and Class Differences in Political Behavior:  
Vote in the 1944 Presidential Election:  
Stratum "Membership" Constant, Class Membership Varied

Stratum and Class Membership	N	% For Dewey (Repub.)	% For Roosevelt (Democ.)	% For Other	% Would-n't Say	% Didn't Vote	For "Dewey" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. Middle Class	292	49	43	1	1	6	A & B,C,D
B. Working Class	99	29	57	1	1	12	B & A,D
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
C. Middle Class	83	33	49	—	2	16	C & A,D
D. Working Class	318	17	64	0.7	0.3	18	D & A,B,C

business, professional or white collar workers than do people in these latter occupations who are working class by affiliation.

Class identification and political behavior are obviously closely associated when viewed from this vantage point, but the association is as well or better exemplified when the class affiliations of *groups of voters* are contrasted as in Table 48. Republican voters in the business, professional and white collar stratum, and in the manual stratum as well, tend to identify themselves with the upper or middle classes more frequently than do Democratic voters or people who did not vote. This same relationship holds for conservatism-radicalism orientations within each occupational stratum, as is shown in Table 49. Republican voters tend to be more conservative than either Democratic voters or non-voters irrespective of their stratum placements.

TABLE 48

Stratum and Political Differences in Class Alignment—Stratum Constant, Political Affiliation\* Varied

Stratum and Political Affiliation	N†	% Upper or Middle Class	% Working or Lower Class	For "Upper or Middle" Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>				
A. Republicans	181	83	17	A & B,D,E,F
B. Democrats	187	70	30	B & A,D,E,F
C. Non-Voters	32‡	63	37	
<i>Manual Workers</i>				
D. Republicans	88	34	66	D & A,B,E
E. Democrats	246	17	83	E & A,B,D
F. Non-voters	73	19	81	F & A,B,D

\* As indicated by vote in the 1944 Presidential election.

† Includes only those affiliating with one of the four classes.

‡ Not an adequate number for statistical comparisons.

TABLE 49

Stratum and Political Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism: Stratum "Membership" Constant, Political Affiliation\* Varied

Stratum Membership and Political Affiliation	N†	PER CENT WHO ARE			For "Conservatives" Differences Are Significant Between
		Conservative	Indeterminate	Radical	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>					
A. Republicans	181	86	12	2	A & B,D,E,F
B. Democrats	187	51	31	18	B & A,E,F
C. Non-Voters	32‡	56	22	22	
<i>Manual Workers</i>					
D. Republicans	88	51	32	17	D & A,E,F
E. Democrats	246	20	33	47	E & A,B,D
F. Non-Voters	73	25	35	40	F & A,B,D

\* As indicated by vote in the 1944 Presidential election.

† Includes only those identifying with some class.

‡ Not included in statistical comparisons.

It might be questioned whether the stratum categories employed for these comparisons are fine enough for this purpose. They are admittedly broad, general classifications, but the relationship disclosed by their use is quite consistently borne out when comparisons of a similar nature are made for each of the finer occupational groupings. Generally, however, a given one of the finer occupational categories is so unevenly divided with respect to class affiliation that further fractionation of it leaves an inadequate number of cases for statistical reliability. Only the white collar and skilled worker groups (besides the farm owners and managers which have already been considered in Table 42 and Figure 14) have sufficient numbers identifying with separate classes to permit a comparison upon which conclusions could be based. They are shown contrasted, in Table 50, in conservatism-radicalism. The usual trend is obvious, and the differences are quite substantial.

TABLE 50

Occupational and Class Differences in Conservatism-Radicalism:  
Occupational Classification Constant, Class Membership Varied

Occupation and Class	N	PER CENT			For "Conservatives" Differences Are Significant Between
		Conservative	Indeterminate	Radical	
<i>White Collar Workers</i>					
A. Middle Class	106	65	26	9	A & B,D
B. Working Class	58	38	34	28	B & A
<i>Skilled Workers and Foremen</i>					
C. Middle Class	43	51	21	28	C & D
D. Working Class	115	32	41	27	D & A,C

A further comparison showing the close relationship between conservatism-radicalism and class identification can be seen in Table 51, where radical-conservative categories in two groups of *employees* of the two major urban occupational strata are contrasted in terms of class identification. Again the usual trend is found. Finally, one may compare persons of

different conservative-radical categories in terms of class identification within each of several economic or standard of living levels, as in Table 52. Again a striking relationship between attitude and class affiliation is manifest. Such findings lend undeniable support to the conception of classes as interest groups.

TABLE 51

Differences in Class Affiliation of Conservatives and Radicals  
within Two Urban Employee\* Strata  
Occupational Stratum and Dominance-Subordination Status both  
Constant, Attitude Varied

	N	% Upper or Middle Class	% Working or Lower Class	For "Upper or Middle" Differences Are Sig- nificant Between
<i>Professional, "Semi- Professional," and Clerical Employees</i>				
A. Conservative	88	75	25	A & B,D,E,F
B. Indeterminate	42	50	50	B & A,D,E,F
C. Radical	30†	43	57	
<i>Urban Manual Employees</i>				
D. Conservative	88	27	73	D & A,B
E. Indeterminate	121	18	82	E & A,B
F. Radical	144	15	85	F & A,B

\* Employee has a restricted denotation here, and applies exclusively to those who are employed by others in non-supervisory capacities, i.e., as plain workers.

† Too few cases for statistical comparisons.

### *Some Further Tests of the Interest Group Hypothesis*

ALL this array of evidence in support of the interest group theory of class structure might well be sufficient, yet, other evidences are not at all wanting.

To devise another critical test of the hypothesis that common interests and attitudes are basic to the structure of class affiliations, the writer reasoned that if people who claimed

TABLE 52

Differences in Class Identification of Conservatives and Radicals within Four Economic (or Standard of Living) Strata

<i>Economic Status and Attitude Category</i>	<i>N*</i>	PER CENT AFFILIATING WITH	
		<i>Upper or Middle Class</i>	<i>Working or Lower Class</i>
<i>Wealthy and Average Plus†</i>			
Conservatives	142	90	10
Indeterminates	24‡	67	33
Radicals	15‡	73	27
<i>Average</i>			
Conservatives	207	71	29
Indeterminates	82	49	51
Radicals	48	35	65
<i>Poor Plus</i>			
Conservatives	104	33	67
Indeterminates	97	30	70
Radicals	69	26	74
<i>Poor</i>			
Conservatives	85	27	73
Indeterminates	89	20	80
Radicals	110	13	87

\* Includes only those whose class affiliation was given.

† These two levels are combined here because of the small numbers included in either of the two.

‡ These few cases are included only as suggestive of the general trend.

membership in the working class, but who were by occupation in the business, professional and white collar stratum, were really identifying themselves with the same people or groups that a preponderance of manual workers identified themselves with, then they should define the working class in essentially the same manner as it was defined by manual workers who belonged to it. How else could one know that these business, professional and white collar people who said they belonged to the working class were really in effect identifying themselves with a predominantly manual group, and not just using the name "working class" to designate some group more or

less exclusively their own, and descriptive of their own strata rather than predominantly manual strata? It is a simple matter to compare the definitions of affiliates of the working class by occupational stratum to determine the actual state of affairs. In Figure 15 such a comparison is shown. A glance at it will leave little doubt that the two conceptions of the membership of the working class are essentially or basically the same. *People who are by occupation in the upper socio-economic strata are clearly identifying themselves with lower occupational groups.* Almost without exception more of a given manual group is named as members of their class than is any of the non-manual groups. The sole exception is the frequency of inclusion of office workers, for they are included as often as factory people. Though a general tendency toward the inclusion of other non-manual groups is also introduced, this slight shift in class definition that gives equal recognition to a white collar stratum appears to be the only major consequence of the affiliation of non-manual people to a predominantly manual class. Business, professional and white collar persons do admittedly include upper status groups more frequently than manual workers do. Nevertheless, the working class is by their definition of it a distinctly manual class.

Interpretation is certainly no difficult task here. It has already been shown that these upper status people who identify themselves with the working class tend to be *like* the manual workers in that group in attitudes and political behavior. They appear here, in terms of class definition, to be also *with* them.

So much for the people who identify with groups lower in station than themselves. What now of those who identify themselves with the middle class? If the urban middle class affiliates are split into their respective stratum components, business, professional and white collar workers on the one hand, manual workers on the other, is it found that the definitions of the middle class are similar, as the hypothesis demands? The similarity is unmistakable. In Figure 16 the two definitions of the middle class are compared. They are not identical, but they are so clearly similar as to convey readily the idea that manual workers who identify themselves with the middle class are in effect identifying themselves with busi-

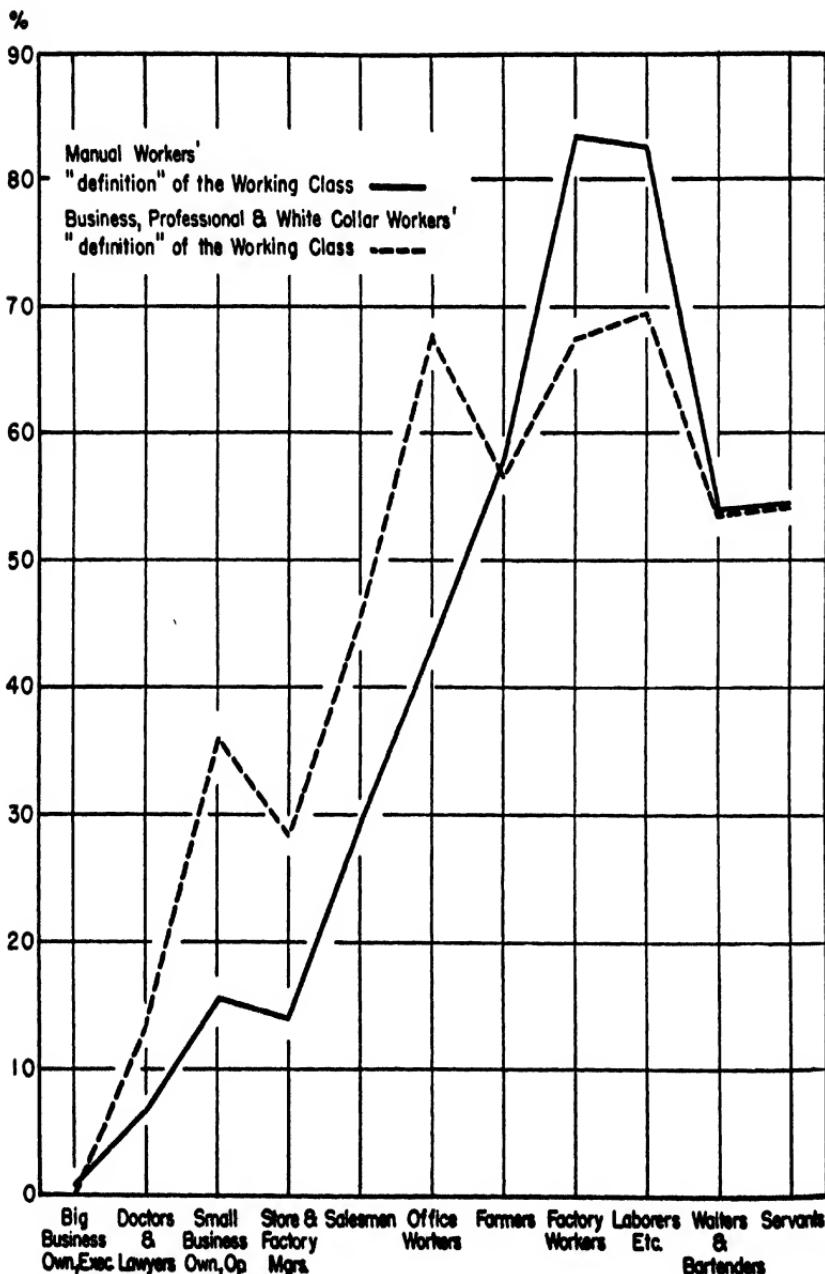


FIGURE 15. Comparison of Two Definitions of the Working Class  
 Points on the lines above each occupational category indicate the percentage of persons who say members of that occupational category are members of the working class

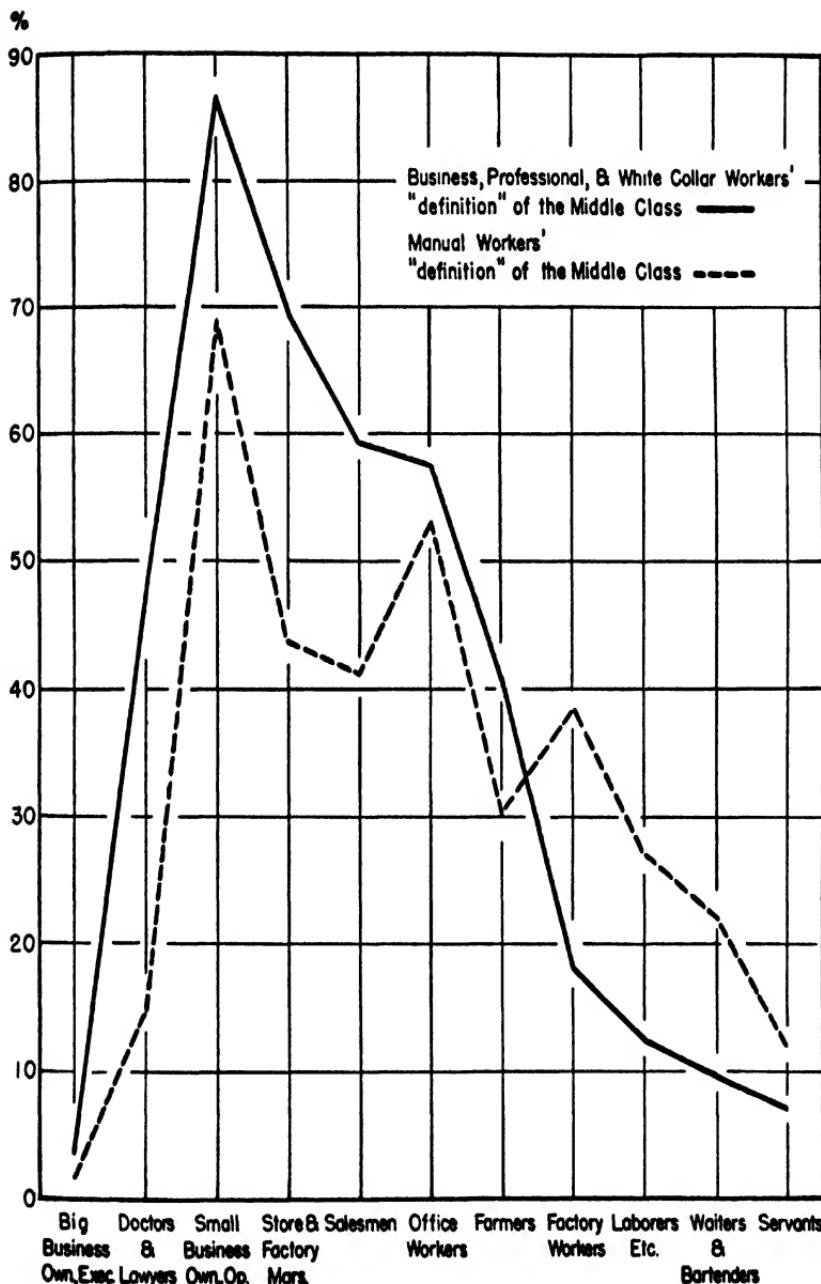


FIGURE 16. Comparison of Two Definitions of the Middle Class  
 Points on the lines above each occupational category indicate the percentage of persons  
 who say members of that occupational category are members of the middle class

ness, professional and white collar people. Their definition of the middle class membership is somewhat biased toward the inclusion of manual occupational groups, but the frequency of designation of business and white collar strata to membership in the middle class is greater than the frequency of inclusion of any manual stratum. The most important difference disclosed is the tendency of manual workers to include professional people (doctors and lawyers) less often than do business, professional and white collar workers. Despite these modifications [*both manual and non-manual groups are identifying with substantially the same people when they affiliate themselves with the middle class,*] and again the interpretation is that it is because they have something in common with each other. It has already been demonstrated that their politico-economic attitudes are similar.

Community of attitude is unambiguously present in, and is unequivocally associated with, class affiliation. It may or may not be a *cause* of class affiliation. The attempt has been made to show here, and there has been shown, only covariation, and admittedly one cannot with such techniques as this determine precise causal relationships. It may be that underlying the covariation of attitude and class identification are subtle, unmeasured economic differences, or even substantially large ones, that are not sufficiently controlled by holding constant one socio-economic variable at a time. [In any case social classes do tend to have the characteristics of politico-economic interest groups, whether common economic circumstances or common attitudes or both are the determining factors, and this is the most important fact for an interest group theory.]

There exist certain pieces of evidence in other parts of the present survey that suggest that attitudes and other psychological factors in themselves do really play a significant role in determining class identifications. It has been seen already in Chapter VI, for example, that the most important single set of criteria, other than occupation, that people use in distinguishing members of their own class is attitudes and beliefs. An event which transpired during the course of this study, namely the announcement of the victory of the British Labor Party at the polls in Great Britain, provides one more

rather dramatic indication of just how important to class identification certain psychological influences can be.

In Table 53 are shown the percentages of people found identifying themselves with the working and lower classes and with the upper and middle classes on July 26, 1945, the day the British Labor victory was announced, and the percentages identifying themselves with these various classes on the days preceding and following the announcement. (Interviewing of subjects began on July 20, ended about August 3.)

TABLE 53

Relationship between Class Identification and the Announcement of the British Labor Victory (July 26, 1945)

Date of Interview	N*	% Upper or Middle	% Working or Lower
Before July 26	328	49†	51†
On July 26	93	33‡	67‡
After July 26	641	46‡	54‡

\* Includes only those stating a class identification.

†‡ Differences between like marked figures in the same column are statistically reliable within the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

It is an unmistakable fact that the announcement had repercussions in America. Whereas only a little over one half (51 per cent) of the people who were interviewed on the days preceding the announcement identified themselves with the working and lower classes, two-thirds (67 per cent) of the people interviewed on the day of the announcement identified with one of these classes (preponderantly the working class of course).

Meaning is not hard to find. Many people, perhaps marginal cases, were seemingly influenced by the announcement to identify themselves with the classes (working and lower) who had just triumphed in a sweeping way in a major political contest. *Classes are not only interest groups within nations, they are psycho-social groupings that extend across national lines.*

At least this seems to be the implication of this finding to the writer. That chance alone would produce such a result might not be impossible, but it would appear to be extremely unlikely. Nor does it appear to be the result of any obvious selection of cases on the day of the announcement. Of the 93 persons interviewed on that day who are listed in Table 53, 35 are business, professional or white collar in occupation, 16 are farmers, and 42 are manual workers.

People of borderline loyalty to the other classes, one might think, were induced by this working class triumph to identify with the victors. Yet, little influence can be found to extend beyond the day of the victory, and one must suppose that only while still vivid in people's experience can such factors produce substantial changes in class affiliations.

## CHAPTER IX

### OTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASSES

THE differences in basic politico-economic orientations found to exist between classes, *though they are perhaps really all that an interest group concept of social classes requires*, do not by any means exhaust the existing contrasts in psychological characteristics between them. There are, in nearly all the psychological areas touched by the present survey, definite correlational trends between class affiliation and other psychological variables. Differences exist, for example, in sympathies and antipathies, prejudices, beliefs, satisfactions and dissatisfactions, goals and desires. Let us briefly sample some of the material at hand.

Because numbers affiliating with either the upper or lower social classes are so few that statistical reliability cannot be unequivocally asserted for them, the findings to be reported will be confined to contrasts between the two major classes, middle and working respectively. It should, therefore, be held in mind that differences cited are the *smallest* differences found between classes and not contrasts between extremes of a scale. The data gain in significance when thus viewed.

#### *Sympathies and Antipathies*

WITH respect to such questions as sympathies and antipathies of the respective classes, the somewhat crude indices provided by the two questions in the interview schedule on who gets too much pay and who doesn't get enough reveal only small numerical, but nonetheless socially significant, trends. As seen in Table 54, both the middle and working classes contain great numbers of people who believe that big business owners and executives are over-rewarded. By far the most distinctive difference between classes is that shown with respect to doctors and lawyers. Whereas over 45 per cent of urban working class people say that these professions are

*over-paid, only 3.4 per cent of the urban middle class people say so.<sup>1</sup>*

The frequency of mention of all other occupational groups is consistently small, yet, despite this, a trend is clearly apparent for middle class persons to say more often than work-

TABLE 54

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Who Gets Too Much Pay?  
Q20a. Are there any on that list that you think get too much pay?

Per Cent* Saying	URBAN		RURAL	
	Middle Class (N = 391)	Working Class (N = 435)	Middle Class (N = 76)	Working Class (N = 129)
Big Business Owners and Executives	63.6	67.5	65.3	68.9
Doctors and Lawyers	3.4	45.5	44.4	43.1
Store and Factory Managers	2.4	8.1	5.6	3.4
Small Business Owners and Operators	2.4	4.9	—	5.2
Salesmen	2.4	3.4	2.8	3.4
Office Workers	0.5	3.6	—	5.2
Farmers	0.8	2.1	—	—
Factory Workers	5.3	2.3	11.1	6.0
Laborers, etc.	2.1	1.3	2.8	0.9
Waiters and Bartenders	2.4	0.8	2.8	1.7
Servants	2.9	1.6	1.4	0.9
None	24.3	17.9	16.7	16.4
No Opinion	3.1	11.5	5.6	10.1

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. People named several groups.

ing class persons do that specific manual occupations get too much for their labor, and conversely, for working class affiliates to say more often than middle class members that specific non-manual (and characteristically middle class) groups are over-remunerated.

This latter trend is just as obvious when the question of who gets too little is considered (Table 55). People in the middle class, urban and rural alike, say that the various non-manual groups are not paid enough more frequently than peo-

<sup>1</sup> In the tables which follow, the urban-rural separation is still maintained. Important differences in objective conditions of life between city and farm people make this check desirable. It is not to be inferred from this policy that the groups are to be viewed as four distinct classes, of course, but merely as urban and rural branches of two classes.

ple in the working class do. Furthermore, middle class members agree consistently less often than working class affiliates that manual occupations are generally underpaid.

The minor magnitudes of the differences shown should not, of course, be assumed to be a very accurate or thorough meas-

TABLE 55

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Who Doesn't Get Enough Pay?  
Q2ob. Are there any of those who don't get enough pay?

Per Cent* Saying	URBAN		RURAL	
	Middle Class (N = 391)	Working Class (N = 435)	Middle Class (N = 76)	Working Class (N = 129)
Big Business Owners and Executives	0.3	—	—	—
Doctors and Lawyers	1.9	1.5	—	—
Store and Factory Managers	5.9	4.1	4.2	1.8
Small Business Owners and Operators	10.3	9.2	14.1	8.9
Salesmen	8.1	6.9	5.6	—
Office Workers	44.3	35.5	21.1	15.2
Farmers	30.8	41.6	52.1	63.4
Factory Workers	18.4	37.2	8.5	8.9
Aborers, etc.	29.2	41.1	12.7	15.2
Vaiters and Bartenders	13.5	19.6	7.0	9.8
Servants	27.0	35.5	26.8	23.2
None	15.9	5.6	21.1	18.8
No Opinion	5.4	9.9	7.0	15.2

\* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent. People named several groups.

ure of the actual sentiment. It should be remembered that, on a free-answer type of question such as this, people are not always pressed to give an answer about every group listed, and, this being the case, they probably voice only their most intense approvals and disapprovals. The suggestion is there, surely, that class loyalties and antagonisms exist. Further study is needed to gauge their true magnitude.

### *Racial and Ethnic Prejudices*

WHEN the classes are compared<sup>2</sup> with respect to racial preju-

<sup>2</sup> In these following tables on the psychological characteristics of social classes, tests for significance of differences are made separately for those which exist between classes *within urban* and *within rural* sectors of the population.

dices the working class shows itself to be somewhat more prejudiced as a group than the middle class (Table 56). This prejudice may or may not be economically determined; it is a fact, however, that people *in* the working class *are* more often prejudiced. It might be their greater poverty and more direct economic competition with Negroes that predisposes them to unfavorable views with respect to them, but it should be noted that, as a class, they are more poorly educated,<sup>8</sup> and that, too, may play a role in prejudice.

TABLE 56  
Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Anti-Negro Prejudice  
(Q25a. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT		
		Favorable (A and D)	Unfavorable (B and C)	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	388	39*	60*	1
Working Class	430	30*	68*	2
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	76	30	70	—
Working Class	127	21	76	3

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

As regards the question of anti-Jewish feeling, there appears to be no difference at all between classes in the number of people answering "yes" to the question, "Do you think that the Jews have too much power and influence in this country?" Approximately 79 per cent of persons in both classes express an affirmative view.

### *Religion*

WORKING class people in general differ but little from those in the middle class with respect to attitudes toward religion, as far, at least, as can be determined from the single question

<sup>8</sup> For data on this point see Table 94 in Appendix III.

that was included in the interview on this subject (Q3, Would you say that on the whole people take religion too seriously, or that they don't take it seriously enough?). Well over three-quarters of people in both classes assert unqualifiedly that people do not take religion seriously enough. Despite this, the middle class is quite definitely characterized by larger proportions of church members than is the working class (Table 57). There are various ways in which this might be explained. The fact that the working class is as a group distinctly poorer immediately suggests itself as one explanation, for church dues cost money and so do "Sunday clothes."

TABLE 57  
Religious Affiliations of Social Classes: Church Membership

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT			
		Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Non-Church
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	390	57	17	4	22
Working Class	435	44	22	2	32
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	75	67	9	—	24
Working Class	129	56	8	—	36

But there may very well be a genuine psychological difference here. One might simply regard this as a further manifestation of the characteristically more conservative attitudes of the middle class. Perhaps there is some truth in both views.

### *The Role of Women*

{YET, when the respective classes are examined with regard to the role of women it is the working class that appears to be the more conservative. Distinctly fewer men of this class are willing to have their women employed away from home than those of the middle class (Table 58). The urban middle class male is more liberal. He is probably more liberal in this respect because he can afford to be. The woman worker less

often threatens his job, he probably also has a smaller number of children to be cared for, and it might even be that the kind of work he expects women of his class to engage in is of the kind that calls for little *physical* exertion on their part and in-

TABLE 58

Class Differences in Attitudes:  
The Role of Women

Q19. Do you think woman's place should be in the home or do you think women should be free to take jobs outside the home if they want them?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT			
		"In the Home"	"Outside"	Qualified Answers	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	389	44*	38*	17	1
Working Class	434	59*	24*	15	2
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	76	58	28	13	1
Working Class	129	63	21	11	5

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

volves no risk to health or life, and so he feels less than working class males the need to shelter them.]

*Success and Opportunity*

It has often been noted by social scientists that the strongest force acting against the formation of class consciousness in America was the existence of a powerful faith on the part of the masses that ability and hard work insure success and that opportunities are free and equal to all.]

The questions on these issues included in this study and designed to get at such ideas as these do indeed attest to the wide currency of such beliefs, but just as unmistakably they show a tendency toward disillusion, particularly on the part of the working class (Tables 59 and 60). When asked upon which of several factors success depends (exact wording is

given in Table 59), well over two-thirds of both urban and rural middle class people answer either with just the one word "ability," or name ability along with some other factor or factors. In contrast, only somewhat over half of both urban and rural working class people profess such a belief. As for belief or disbelief that one's children have as good or better chances of rising in the world as anybody else's, belief is

TABLE 59

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Why People Succeed  
 Q21a. Do you think most people who are successful are successful because of ability, luck, pull, or the better opportunities they have had?

Per Cent Saying	URBAN		RURAL	
	Middle Class (N = 387)	Working Class (N = 434)	Middle Class (N = 76)	Working Class (N = 129)
Ability	50.1*	40.1*	56.6	46.5
Ability plus Other Factors	18.6	12.0	13.2	7.0
Luck	3.4	8.1	3.9	8.5
Pull	6.2	10.8	3.9	3.1
Their Better Opportunities	17.6	19.6	18.4	31.0
Combinations of Luck, Pull and Better Opportunities	2.3	4.1	1.3	1.6
Don't Know	1.8	5.3	2.7	2.3

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same row are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent level or better.

strongly characteristic of both classes. Working class people are significantly less often of the conviction that it is so, however (Table 60).

These findings are quite in line with the attitudes characteristic of the two classes, for it is just the more conservative middle class that is found to be clinging more steadfastly to the traditional American (or middle class) ideology, while it is the less conservative, working class that shows the greater tendency toward disillusion. Doubtless it is the better standard of living, greater success already achieved, and the better conditions of life all around that account for the middle class person's faith being stronger here, just as these help to account for his conservatism. If his beliefs are rewarded, as they must

TABLE 60

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Opportunities for Children  
 Q17. Would you say that your children had just as good a chance, a  
 poorer, or a better chance to rise in the world as anybody else's?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT SAYING		
		As Good or Better	Poorer	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	369	95*	3*	2
Working Class	415	84*	10*	6
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	66	97	1	2
Working Class	114	84	13	3

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent level or better.

be by attainment of a comparatively good job and comparatively high standard of living, it would be disregarding all we know about the psychology of learning and conditioning to expect him to discard them. In line with this same learning psychology is the conception of the modest tendency toward disillusion and the lesser conservatism of the working class as the extinction effects of non-reward. If non-reward should become more universally the citizen's lot than it is now, we can only expect disillusion and radicalism to become more prevalent. That the latter are not more widespread than they are can perhaps be attributed mainly to the fact that non-reward is not, either.

### *Satisfactions and Frustrations*

Most Americans seem, generally speaking, to be satisfied with the conditions of their lives and work. But significantly in keeping with all that has been said before is this finding *the working class as a group tends to be distinctly more frustrated than the middle class*. More people who affiliate with the working class are dissatisfied with their jobs, their pay, their oppor-

tunities to get ahead, and their chances to enjoy life (Tables 61, 62, 63, and 64).<sup>4</sup> This is true for both urban and rural

TABLE 61

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Satisfaction with Job  
Q12a. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your present job?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT		
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Qualified Answer
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	383	86*	13	1
Working Class	426	79*	20	1
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	72	96	4	—
Working Class	113	90	10	—

\* Differences between these adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

TABLE 62

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Satisfaction with Pay  
Q13. Do you think your pay or salary is as high as it should be, or do you think you deserve more?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT		
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	382	57*	40*	3
Working Class	425	48*	49*	3
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	75	64*	33*	3
Working Class	127	39*	54*	7

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent level or better.

<sup>4</sup> It may seem contradictory to some persons that many people in the interview stated they were satisfied with their present job, but on subsequent questions on pay and opportunities for advancement declared themselves dissatisfied. There is no necessary inconsistency here, however. It is quite possible to be dissatisfied with some aspect or part of a job without being dissatisfied with the job as a whole.

## 150 OTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

parts of the respective classes. The largest differences of all occur with respect to the issue of pay between the middle and working class sectors of the rural population (Table 62), but differences of the order of 10 and 15 per cent are common on practically all comparisons on these questions.

TABLE 63

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement

Q15. Do you think you have a good chance to get ahead in your present line of work?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT SAYING		
		Yes	No	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	382	74*	23*	3
Working Class	426	59*	35*	6
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	71	86*	10	4
Working Class	126	70*	21	9

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

TABLE 64

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life

Q18. Do you think you have as good a chance to enjoy life as you should have?

Class Affiliation	N	PER CENT SAYING		
		Yes	No	Don't Know
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	390	88*	11*	1
Working Class	431	73*	25*	2
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	75	88	12	—
Working Class	128	75	23	2

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

Doubtless, these differences would be larger if it were not for important barriers that stand in the way of the respondent giving expression to his true feelings in these matters. None of us likes to be thought of as a complainer. Complaining is socially frowned upon. Then, too, admission that one is dissatisfied is, in perhaps all of these questions, almost tantamount to a confession that one is a failure or an "underdog." Most of us wouldn't voice such frustrations even to an intimate friend. But the public opinion interviewer is a stranger, in many cases a woman (the respondents were all males), and, to many persons of the working class, someone not of their own kind, for the interviewer is a well-educated, well-dressed, white-collar or professional person.

It will no doubt seem obvious to many that such grievances and frustrations must be important sources of the industrial unrest of our era. One can scarcely doubt that they are. It has already been implied that they can be regarded as important sources of radicalism, and this can be documented by the data at hand. Since the next chapter deals with the problem of determinants in considerable detail, however, it is sufficient here simply to note the existence and nature of these dissatisfactions and the differences which exist between social classes with respect to them.

### *Values and Desires*

[IT is in the matter of wishes and values that the most interesting differences between social classes appear.] The technique of gaining access to people's desires was to hand them a card upon which were listed the items shown below and to ask: "If you had a choice of one of these kinds of jobs which would you choose? Just call out the letter."

- A. A job where you could be a leader.
- B. A very interesting job.
- C. A job where you would be looked upon very highly by your fellow men.
- D. A job where you could be boss.
- E. A job which you were absolutely sure of keeping.

- F. A job where you could express your feelings, ideas, talent, or skill.
- G. A very highly paid job.
- H. A job where you could make a name for yourself—or become famous.
- I. A job where you could help other people.
- J. A job where you could work more or less on your own.

Each person was then asked for a second and then a third choice. In terms of their first choices from these ten value situations it is readily apparent that a desire for *self-expression* is characteristic of middle class persons to a distinctly greater extent than it is of working class people. These latter most often want *security* (a job they could be absolutely sure of keeping) and independence. (Table 65, Figures 17 and 19).<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 65  
Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Desires and Values:  
First Choice  
(Q8a. For exact wording see Appendix IV.)

Per Cent Choosing	URBAN		RURAL	
	Middle Class (N = 385)	Working Class (N = 424)	Middle Class (N = 74)	Working Class (N = 126)
Power	2.6	4.2	8.1	7.1
Self-Expression	30.6*	17.2*	21.6*	6.3*
Esteem	5.5	5.0	2.8	0.8
Security	8.8*	19.3*	8.1	17.5
Profit	6.0	5.9	4.2	5.6
Independence	17.9	20.3	32.4	31.7
Leadership	7.3	3.3	8.1	2.4
Social Service	8.6	12.5	8.1	13.5
Fame	1.8	1.7	—	1.6
Interesting Experience	10.9	10.6	6.6	13.5

\* Differences between adjacent starred figures in the same row are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

<sup>5</sup> In the tables and charts which summarize the data, names of the several desires have been substituted for each of the items which embodied them. Item A is named Leadership, B is Interesting Experience, C is Esteem, D is Power, E is Security, F is Self-Expression, G is Profit, H is Fame, I is Social Service, and J is Independence.

Independence, however, is the most typical desire of both classes on the farm.

In Table 66 and in Figures 18 and 20 are shown comparisons for the two classes in terms of their combined three choices. When the number of choices is thus extended some changes do occur, as can be seen by a comparison of Figures 17 and 18 and then Figures 19 and 20, but for the urban population the most distinctive differences between middle and working classes are still those with respect to *self-expression* and *security*. With rural people, differences between classes

TABLE 66

Psychological Differences of Social Classes: Desires and Values:  
Combined Three Choices  
(Q8a,b,c. See Appendix IV for exact wording.)

Per Cent Choosing as One of Three	URBAN		RURAL	
	Middle Class (N = 338)	Working Class (N = 381)	Middle Class (N = 69)	Working Class (N = 108)
Power	6.5	10.2	11.6	18.5
Self-Expression	60.1	44.1	52.2	33.3
Esteem	20.1	15.2	11.6	18.5
Security	27.2	53.3	42.0	44.4
Profit	21.0	23.4	10.1	18.5
Independence	52.1	53.8	75.4	72.2
Leadership	16.3	6.6	13.0	2.8
Social Service	44.4	42.8	46.4	50.0
Fame	9.5	10.2	1.4	10.2
Interesting Experience	42.9	40.4	36.2	31.5

on the "one of three" comparison are so truly outstanding with regard to self-expression that differences on other values, while by no means trivial, are minor in comparison.

If one may speak of "class" values, then the characteristic middle class value is self-expression and that of the working class is security, for it is in relation to these desires that they differ most. Social classes can thus to a certain extent be characterized by the possession of common values as well as by the possession of common beliefs and attitudes.

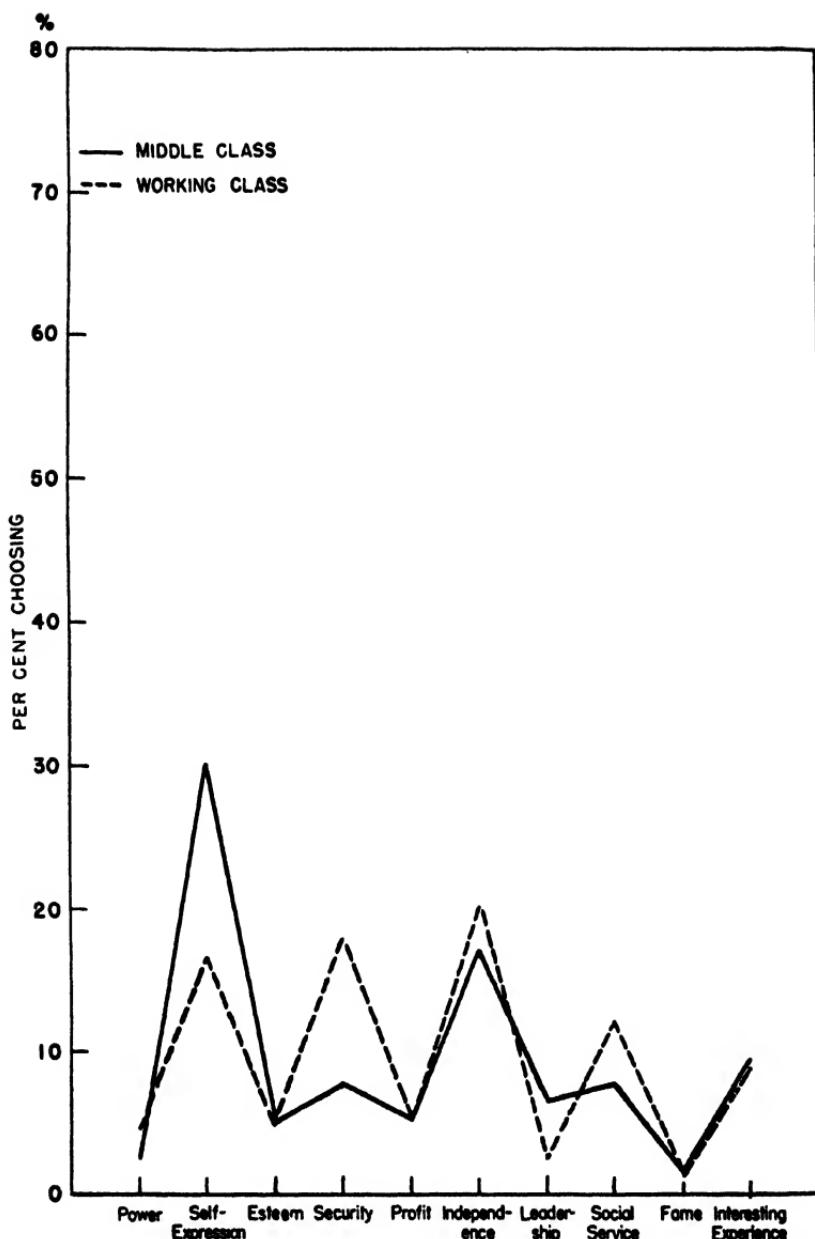


FIGURE 17. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their First Choices (Urban Population Only)

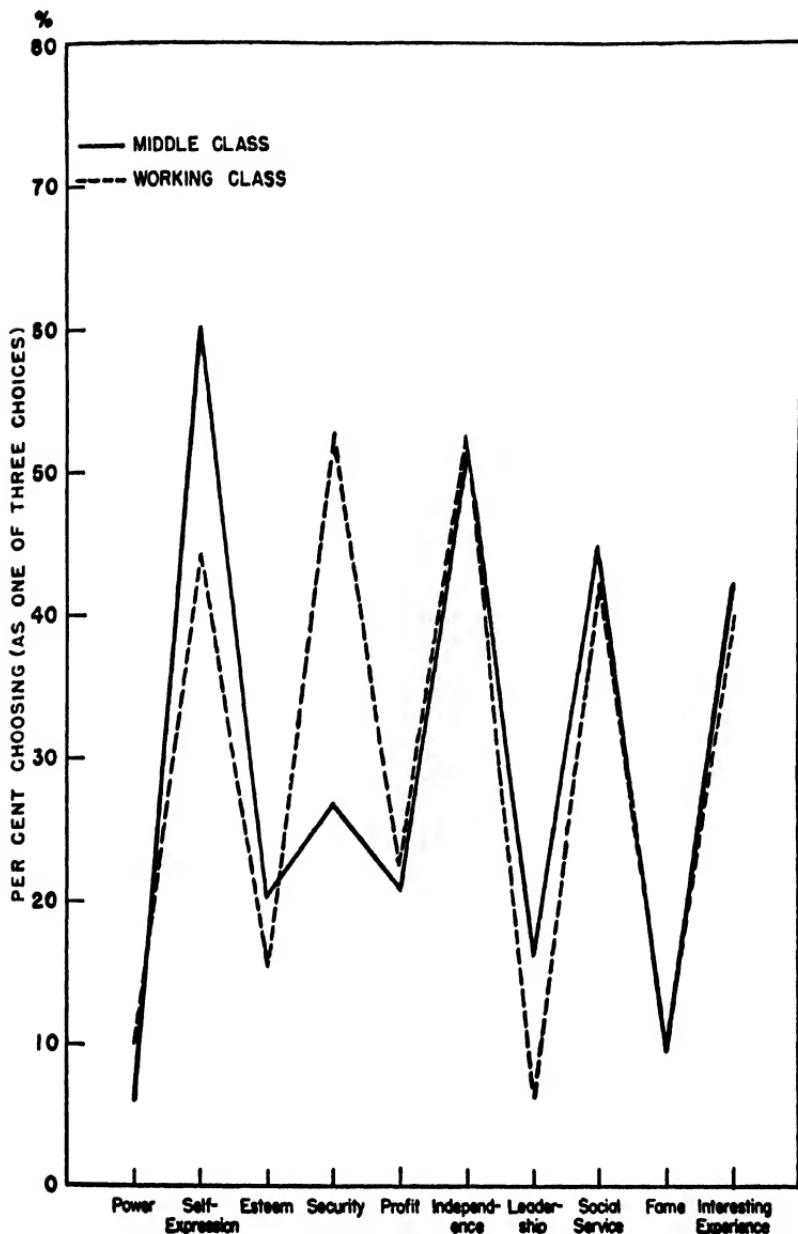


FIGURE 18. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their Combined Three Choices (Urban Population Only)

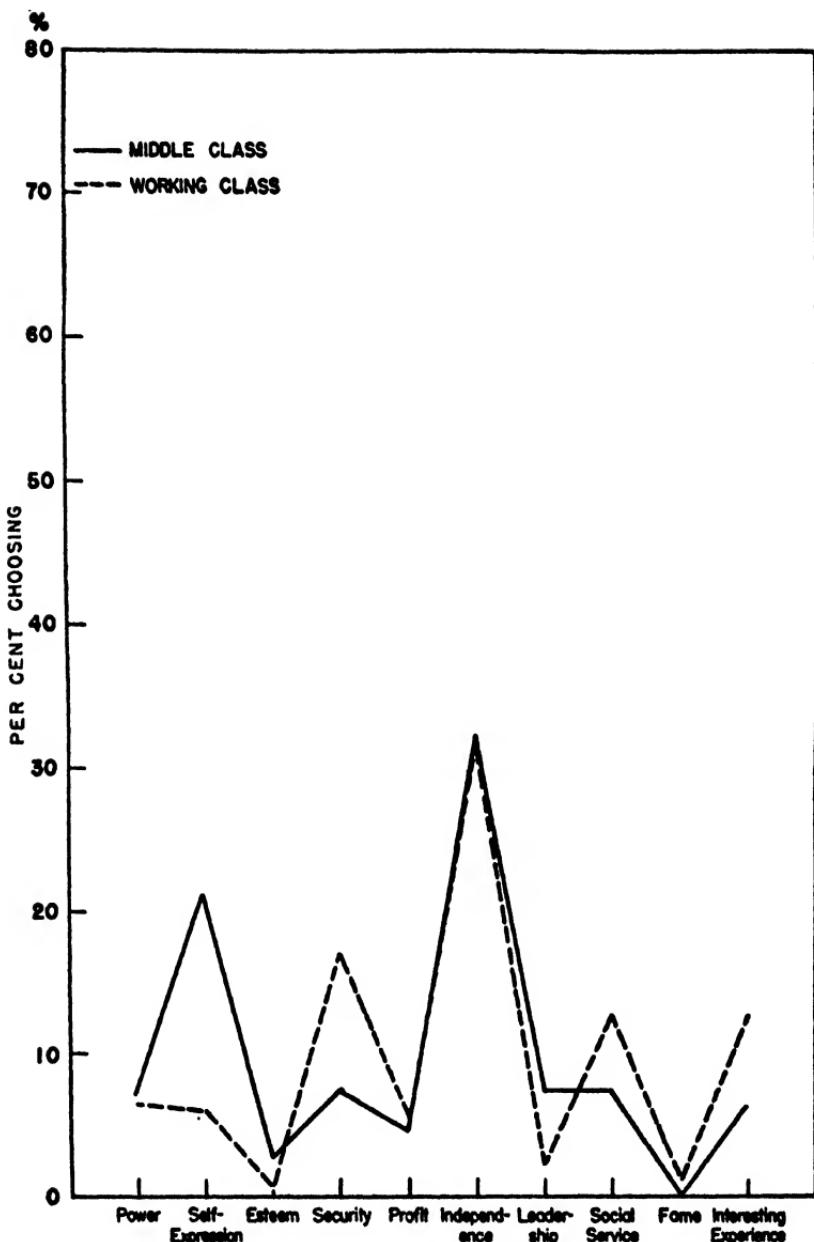


FIGURE 19. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their First Choices (Rural Population Only)

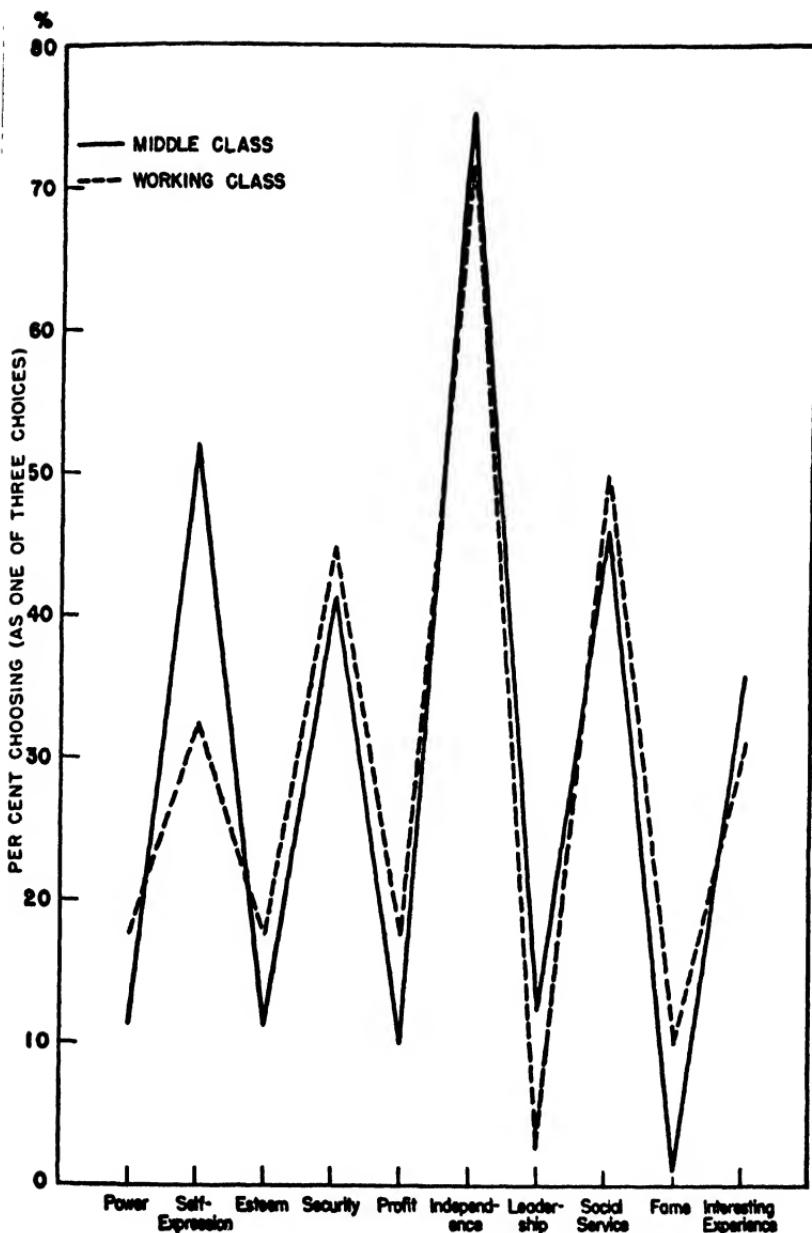


FIGURE 20. Comparative Value Profiles of Two Social Classes in Terms of Their Combined Three Choices (Rural Population Only)

It is regretted that there is at present no way of testing the validity or genuineness of these motivations. They are simply choices a man will make in the kind of situation provided for him by the interview and the questions asked. Doubtless the experimental error is not trivial. But surely it cannot fail to impress one that so many people, faced with such a wide array of alternatives of diverse character, still choose such an uninspiring thing as a job they could be absolutely sure of keeping. Men must have lived without security a great deal to prize such a thing so highly. And few, certainly, would question that the sort of people who belong to the working class have been economically far less secure than those of the middle class. Data collected on unemployment in connection with this study, for example, show that, whereas a majority of middle class people have never known what it is to be without work, only a minority of urban working class people have been so fortunate.<sup>6</sup> Working class people, it seems plain, have to be concerned with security, but the better economic circumstances of middle class people emancipate them in goodly numbers from such a basic need, and other needs, less basic, can find opportunity to dominate their thinking and emotions.¶

### *Concluding Comment*

THE differences between social classes that have been presented in this chapter are in certain cases substantial, but in other cases rather small. It is clear from consideration of them that not only are the middle and working classes in our social order tending to split into two different "ideological" camps along economic and political lines, but tending to have different views with respect to many other matters. But the tendency in this latter way is just as obviously a much slighter one than that for political and economic issues. The data cited thus help to define the limits of class cleavage in outlook as well as to give evidence for its existence in incipient form. There is need for a great deal more research, obviously, before those limits can be at all precisely known. Indeed, the task calls for an exploration and inventory of the whole cul-

<sup>6</sup> For exact figures on unemployment see Table 96 in Appendix III.

ture and ideology, bit by bit, before a well-rounded picture of the class psychology of our era can be drawn. It can hardly fail to be recognized, moreover, that such an inventory of class agreements and disagreements would be a tremendously valuable asset from the standpoint of psychological manipulation and control of class attitudes and behavior. It has, therefore, not only justification from the standpoint of pure science, but justification as a practical necessity as well.

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINANTS

#### *Cross Comparisons of Occupation and Other Variables by Means of the Method of Contrasted Groups*

THE conviction has gradually emerged during the course of this survey that class affiliations and politico-economic orientations are both to a very large extent direct consequences of the differing socio-economic positions of people in our system of production and exchange of goods and services. The objective status and role of persons is accompanied by such distinctive psychological manifestations that an inescapable suggestion of a cause and effect relation arises in viewing them.<sup>1</sup>

It would be most hasty and rash to be content with this impression without a more thorough appraisal of the nature of these relations, however. There are too many correlates of social class identification and conservatism-radicalism for one not to suspect many of them of having significant bearing of their own in shaping the complex of psychological manifestations that have been described. Table 67 shows the extent to which several variables, concerning which data were obtained

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to think of objective socio-economic status and role, not as causes or determinants in themselves, but simply as variables which incorporate in themselves, so to speak, something still more basic. These more basic causes could be the factors which got the person into a given socio-economic position in the first place, the stresses and strains inherent in occupancy of the position once there, and the whole complex of forces and circumstances which surround the individual's life as a consequence of his occupancy of the status and role. Possibly data clearly of this more basic type will someday be obtainable. Meanwhile the best index to such causality is data on socio-economic status itself, and though speaking of it as causal may be imprecise, it is convenient to do so if this larger meaning of it is kept in mind.

in the present survey, are correlated with class identification and conservatism-radicalism.

While the magnitudes of these correlations are quite generally distinctly less than those shown for occupational and

TABLE 67

Tetrachoric Correlations of Several Sociological and Psychological Variables with Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Name of Variable*	Correlation with Class Identification	Correlation with Conservatism-Radicalism
Education	.56	.38
Age	.11†	.06
Desires‡	.35	.27
Satisfaction with Job	.20	.26
Satisfaction with Pay	.40	.33
Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement	.24	.31
Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life	.35	.42
Unemployment	.26	.42
Nativity	.03	.25
Church Membership	.22	.18
Protestantism‡	.19	.36
Town Size‡	.01	.32
Section	.14	.29

\* The dichotomization of these variables is as follows: *Education*: high school graduates and above vs. high school non-graduates and below; *Age*: 40 years and over vs. under 40; *Desires*: those not choosing security in one of three choices vs. those doing so; *All satisfaction variables*: satisfied vs. dissatisfied; *Unemployment*: those never out of work vs. those who had been at least some length of time; *Nativity*: native born of native parents vs. foreign born, or native born of foreign parent or parents; *Church membership*: church members vs. non-members; *Protestantism*: Protestants vs. Catholics; *Town size*: Under 100,000 population vs. over 100,000 population; *Section*: other than Northeast vs. Northeast.

† The approximate probable error ( $1.5 \times$  the probable error of an equivalent product moment  $r$ ) of a correlation of .11 for a sample of 1050 cases is .03. Thus a correlation coefficient has to be somewhat larger than this figure in order to be four times the size of its approximate probable error. The  $N$ 's for these correlations vary about 1050 more or less because complete data with respect to every variable was not obtained for all subjects.

‡ The  $N$ 's for these correlations are, of course, smaller than the others since only a part of the total cross section is included. For the Protestant vs. Catholic dichotomy the  $N$  is 715; for the Town Size correlation it is 828; for Desires the  $N$  is 902.

economic stratification with class identification and attitudes (cf. Table 34), they are sufficient to raise a question as to whether the differences that have been found related to these socio-economic indices are genuinely due to socio-economic factors alone. There is, for example, a sizable correlation between education and class identification. How can one know that much or most of the differences found between people in various occupational groups is not one due primarily to differences in educational level between them and only to a minor extent to differences in occupation? Or, to ask the question in reverse, can one be at all confident that this relationship between educational level and class identification would exist if occupation were held constant? Some further analysis is required, at least, before such confidence can be gained.

The nature of the data obtained in this cross sectional study imposes limits upon the analytical possibilities. Getting at determinants of attitudes is a problem for which scientific methodology in psychology is poorly advanced generally. Causal relationships between two given variables can be unequivocally asserted, if they can be asserted at all, only when by rigorous experimental techniques all variables but that to which causal efficacy is to be attributed are held constant—and such control of variables is most difficult to achieve. It is an obvious impossibility in an exploratory study of the present type, which deals with an entire cross section of a population that varies in an almost inexhaustible fashion. To hold constant everything but occupation, for example, would require a sample several hundred times as large as the present one. Before groups large enough for statistically reliable comparisons, and matched for all possibly relevant characteristics save occupation were obtained, such a sample might have to contain fifty or one hundred thousand persons.

One can, with the data possessed here, however, compare the effects of two "independent" variables at a time, and if some one variable, such as occupation, has been supposed to have determining significance, its effects can be serially compared with the effects of each of the several others, and something about their relative importance in relation to certain

"dependent" variables may be inferred.<sup>2</sup> This is certainly a good deal better than nothing at all.

*Relations of Occupational Stratification and Personal Attributes to Class Identification and Politico-Economic Attitudes*

*Education*: The variables listed in Table 67 are those which the writer suspected of some causal importance of their own. It should prove most interesting to see how they are related to class identification and conservatism-radicalism when their own variation is restricted to that existing within occupational strata. For example, there are differences in class identification between high-school and grammar-school educated people when only education is varied, but are there differences in class identification between these two groups within a given occupational stratum? Also, and as crucial, is there a difference in class identification between occupational strata when persons in both strata are equal in education?

In Table 68 are indicated the relations of these two variables to both class identification and conservatism-radicalism. Only results for the two urban occupational strata are shown, because the numbers in either of the two rural strata are too small for further fractionization, and figures cited for them would not be adequate for statistically reliable comparisons. The use of broad urban stratum categories is demanded in these comparisons, also, because the finer urban categories do not permit further subdivision either. The effect of this technique is to reduce the variations in class identification and attitude which exist in virtue of occupational differences to a gross over-all difference, while allowing maximum variation to be shown with variation in educational level, since educational levels are given in finer gradations. Thus the variations still present as a function of occupational stratification constitute a conservative estimate of the difference due to that variable, while those for the educational levels within each stratum may be somewhat magnified because of a residual

<sup>2</sup> For more elaborate discussions of this problem see Cantril (5) and Crespi and Rugg (11).

TABLE 68  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Education to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Educational Level	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes		Per Cent Identifying with "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between		Per Cent	
		Radical	Indeterminate	Radical	Indeterminate	Conservative	Differences Are Significant Between
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. Graduate School	49	92		A & D,E,F,X,Y,Z	14	18	68 A & F,X,Y,Z
B. College Graduate	68	90		B & D,E,F,X,Y,Z	7	12	81 B & E,F,X,Y,Z
C. College Incomplete	81	83		C & E,F,X,Y,Z	9	22	69 C & F,X,Y,Z
D. High School Graduate	96	71		D & A,B,X,Y,Z	6	20	74 D & F,X,Y,Z
E. High School Incomplete	69	64		E & A,B,C,X,Y,Z	10	30	60 E & B,X,Y,Z
F. All Grade School	53	58		F & A,B,C,X,Y,Z	28	25	47 F & A,B,C,D,Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
W. All College	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
X. High School Graduate	75	28	X & A,B,C,D,E,F	28	39	33 X & A,B,C,D,E	
Y. High School Incomplete	97	22	Y & A,B,C,D,E,F	37	28	35 Y & A,B,C,D,E	
Z. All Grade School*	218	16	Z & A,B,C,D,E,F	44	32	24 Z & A,B,C,D,E,F	

\* A more detailed breakdown for this group:  
7th and 8th Grades 134 22 43 32 25  
6th Grade and Below 84 7 47 32 21

variation in occupational stratification that is linked to the educational differences. (For example, the difference between high school graduates and college graduates within the business, professional and white collar group might be due in part to the better occupational status of the college graduates rather than to the educational difference *per se*.)

Despite these considerations it is clear from an inspection of Table 68 and Figure 21 that substantial differences still exist between persons of the same educational level who differ in occupation. This is true with respect to both class identification<sup>8</sup> and conservatism-radicalism. (Both occupation and education are important, however.) It is noticeable in Figure 21 that educational differences seem to produce more stable and consistent variations in class identification than in conservatism, yet, as a rule, people of higher educational attainments not only tend to identify more frequently with the upper and middle classes, but more often to be conservative in attitude as well. This is true of persons in both occupational strata. A difference of substantial magnitude exists between persons of the same education but of different occupation, however, and hence there is no question that occupation is an important index independently of education.)

*Age:* (Age, as Table 67 indicates, is to a minor degree related to class identification and attitude, but the differences "due" to it are much smaller than those "due" to occupation.)

When different age groups are compared within each of the two occupational strata a rather consistent tendency for class identification and conservatism-radicalism to vary with age is manifested in the upper occupational stratum,<sup>4</sup> but a lack of such a relation appears in the manual stratum (Table 69 and Figure 22). (In the non-manual stratum older people tend to be more conservative than the younger ones, and also

<sup>8</sup> In this table, and in the several similarly patterned ones which follow it, only a percentage for identification with the upper and middle classes is shown. Since persons not giving a class identification are not included in the sample in these comparisons, the percentage of persons who identify with the working and lower classes is always the percentage that, if added, would total 100 per cent for identification.

<sup>4</sup> This may not be entirely due to age, but may be a function of the fact that older men are, on the whole, in better jobs and have better earnings. The broad categories used for occupation obscure these differences.

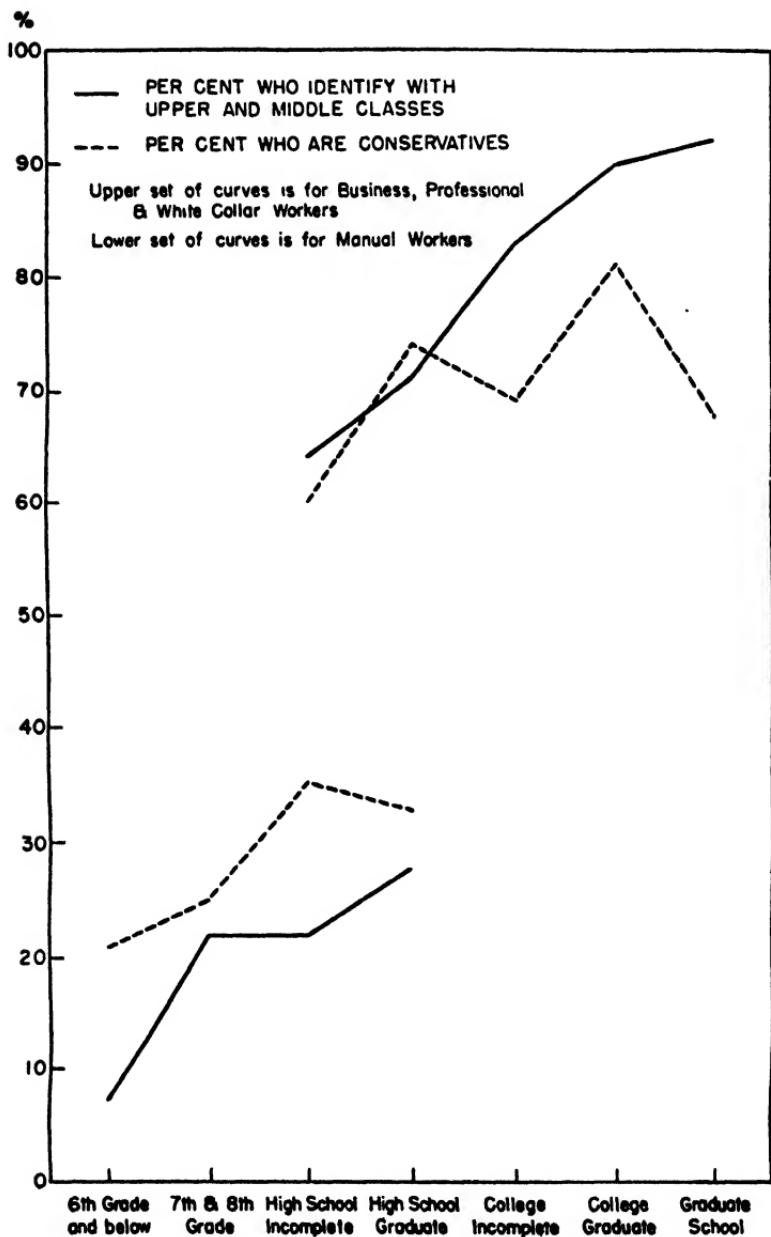


FIGURE 21. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Education to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

TABLE 69  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Age to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Age Group	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between	For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between
			For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between	Radical	Indeterminate	Conservative	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. 60 Years and Over	54	81	A & V, W, X, Y, Z	11	20	69	A & E, V, W, X, Y, Z
B. 50-59 Years	76	82	B & V, W, X, Y, Z	11	17	72	B & E, V, W, X, Y, Z
C. 40-49 Years	107	79	C & V, W, X, Y, Z	11	18	71	C & E, V, W, X, Y, Z
D. 30-39 Years	136	71	D & V, W, X, Y, Z	11	23	66	D & V, W, X, Y, Z
E. Under 30 Years	41	66	E & V, W, X, Y, Z	14	37	49	E & A, B, C, V, W, X, Y, Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
V. 60 Years and Over	44	20	V & A, B, C, D, E	46	27	27	V & A, B, C, D, E
W. 50-59 Years	81	27	W & A, B, C, D, E	35	31	34	W & A, B, C, D, E, X
X. 40-49 Years	101	13	X & A, B, C, D, E	48	33	19	X & A, B, C, D, E, W, Y
Y. 30-39 Years	127	21	Y & A, B, C, D, E	32	35	33	Y & A, B, C, D, E, X
Z. Under 30 Years	58	26	Z & A, B, C, D, E	36	36	28	Z & A, B, C, D, E

to identify more frequently with the upper and middle classes. In the manual group no such tendency occurs. There, the middle-aged people stand out from both old and young as being most frequently radical and less frequently conservative and in identifying themselves most frequently with the working class (i.e. least frequently with the upper and middle classes in terms of the data shown). The difference in conservatism is statistically significant in comparison with immediately younger and older age groups, and is thus probably not a freak of chance.

Why should this particular age group of manual workers be more radical? It occurs to the writer that life experiences might be the reason. The median age of this particular group is 45 years. Fifteen years earlier—in 1930—these men were all somewhere in the neighborhood of 30 years old. They were young men then, probably just "hitting their stride" as far as a manual worker's career goes. But beginning then, and continuing for nearly 10 years, was one of the worst depressions an industrial worker ever lived through. Is the disapproval of the present economic order perhaps an embittered outlook born of depression and lean years? Perhaps. At least this group might well have been the hardest hit by those depression years.

#### *Relations of Some Psychological Variables to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism*

*Desires: Security:* It has been pointed out before that certain psychological variables such as desires, satisfactions, and frustrations might play significant roles in determining class affiliations and politico-economic orientations. It was shown in the preceding chapter and in Table 67 that there are modest degrees of association between these factors and class identification and conservatism-radicalism. The correlation of desire ("other" vs. security) with class is .35, with conservatism-radicalism, .27. People who *do not* choose security ("a job you could be absolutely sure of keeping") in one out of three choices tend, more frequently than those who do, to be

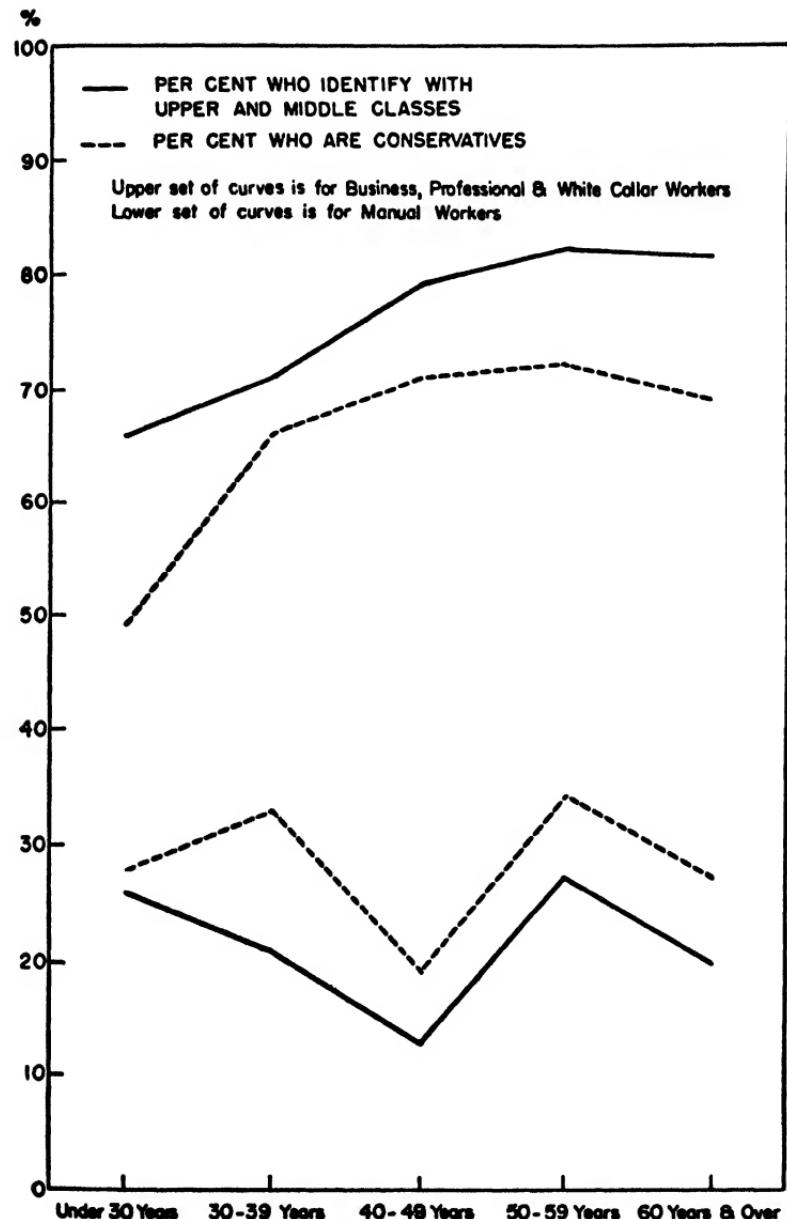


FIGURE 22. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Age to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

upper or middle class in affiliation and to be conservative in attitude.

In Table 70 are shown the relations of the desire for security to class identification and conservatism-radicalism within separate occupational strata. In both, people wanting security are more radical and less conservative and tend to identify with the working and lower classes more frequently than do persons to whom security does not appear so desirable. The latter differences are not nearly as large as those that exist in virtue of the difference in occupation, however.

*Satisfaction with Job:* Being satisfied with one's job is positively related to affiliation with the upper or middle classes and to being conservative in attitude, the correlations for the total cross section being .20 for class identification, and .26 for conservatism-radicalism. Insofar as dissatisfaction has been commonly supposed to produce desire for modification in the existing order of things it occasions no surprise that a modest correlation exists. As can be seen in Table 71 the relationship is present within both occupational strata, though seemingly more important within the upper than in the lower occupational category. The differences between satisfied persons of different occupational groups are, however, of such large size that it cannot be questioned that stratification is itself of more consequence than satisfaction-dissatisfaction.

*Satisfaction with Pay:* People who are satisfied with the monetary rewards they receive for their work are, in general, more frequently conservative in attitude and more frequently identify themselves with the upper or middle classes. For the total cross section Satisfaction with Pay is correlated with class identification to the extent of .20 and with conservatism-radicalism to the extent of .33. Differences of substantial size and statistical significance are also found within given urban occupational strata (Table 72). Despite such differences, those which exist between strata are quite plainly of greater magnitude.

*Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement:* If one is satisfied with his opportunities to get ahead in his work he tends more frequently to identify himself with the upper or middle classes and to be conservative in attitude. A correlation

TABLE 70  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Desires to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Desire	N	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	PER CENT		
			For "Upper and Middle" Differ- ences Are Signifi- cant Between	For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>					
A. Persons Choosing Security as One of Three Choices	98	66	A & B, Y, Z	14	28
B. Persons Not Choosing Se- curity as One of Three	269	78	B & A, Y, Z	10	19
<i>Manual Workers</i>					
Y. Persons Choosing Security as One of Three Choices	191	14	Y & A, B, Z	42	34
Z. Persons Not Choosing Se- curity as One of Three	162	27	Z & A, B, Y	34	32
					34
					24
					24
					Z & A, B

TABLE 71  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Satisfaction with Job to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Satisfied-Dissatisfied	N	Per Cent Who Are				
		Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Identifying with Middle Differences Between Classes Are Significant	Radical	Indifferent-Semistar	Conservative
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Satisfied	356	77	A & Y,Z B & Y,Z	10 17	20 37	70 46
B. Dissatisfied	52	65				
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
Y. Satisfied	319	22	Y & A,B Z & A,B	37 42	34 32	29 26
Z. Dissatisfied	84	17				

TABLE 72  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Satisfaction with Pay to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Satisfied-Dissatisfied	N	PER CENT WHO ARE					
		Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between Classes	Radical	Inde- termi- nate	Con- ser- vative	
<i>Business, Professional and White Collar</i>							
A. Satisfied	240	78	A & Y,Z	9	18	73	A & B,Y,Z
B. Dissatisfied	156	72	B & Y,Z	14	28	58	B & A,Y,Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
Y. Satisfied	190	23	Y & A,B	27	34	39	Y & A,B,Z
Z. Dissatisfied	208	21	Z & A,B	49	32	19	Z & A,B,Y

of .24 exists with respect to class identification, and one of .31 is indicated for this satisfaction variable and conservatism-radicalism (Table 67). The relationships are also manifest when comparisons between satisfied and dissatisfied are made within each urban occupational stratum (Table 73). Again, however, occupation seems to be clearly the more important variable. Dissatisfied people within the non-manual stratum tend to be less frequently conservative and to identify less frequently with the upper or middle classes, but they are still more often conservative than manual workers, and identify more with the upper or middle classes than manual workers do.

*Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life:* Satisfaction with chance to enjoy life appears to be the most important of all these satisfaction variables. For the total cross section it has a correlation with class identification of .35 and with conservatism-radicalism of .42. Persons who are dissatisfied with their lot in life, also, are more often radical and identify with the working and lower classes more often, regardless of whether they are found in the manual or in the non-manual occupational categories. *Only 10 per cent of dissatisfied manual workers are conservative in attitude* (Table 74). It is strongly suggested that in this question something dynamic and causal is being tapped. Here is a case where the psychological gap separating manual and non-manual strata narrows somewhat more than usual. Even so, satisfied people in the manual stratum are quite as radical as and identify more often with the working and lower classes than dissatisfied persons in the business, professional and white collar group. Occupational stratification is obviously the more important variable.

*Satisfaction with Treatment by Employer:* Attention has not yet been called to the fact that within the business, professional and white collar occupational stratum, persons who are dissatisfied with job, pay, chances for advancement, and opportunities for the enjoyment of life are very much in the minority. This is to a much lesser extent the case with manual workers. Among professional and white collar *employees*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Employee as used here means only persons who are not managers or supervisors of other employees.

TABLE 73  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement to Class Identification  
and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Satisfied-Dissatisfied	N	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	PER CENT			
			For "Upper and Middle" Differ- ences Are Sig- nificant Between Classes	Radical- cal	Inde- termi- nate	Con- ser- vative
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Satisfied	309	78	A & Y,Z	9	19	72
B. Dissatisfied	90	67	B & Y,Z	17	29	54
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
Y. Satisfied	235	22	Y & A,B	36	34	30
Z. Dissatisfied	144	19	Z & A,B	45	29	26
						Y & A,B Z & A,B

TABLE 74  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life to Class Identification  
and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Satisfied-Dissatisfied	N	PER CENT WHO ARE				
		Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes Are Significant Between Classes	Radical	Inde- ter- mi- nate	Con- ser- vative
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Satisfied	360	78	A & B, Y, Z	8	23	69
B. Dissatisfied	51	57	B & A, Y, Z	30	29	41
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
Y. Satisfied	295	24	Y & A, B	30	39	31
Z. Dissatisfied	106	14	Z & A, B	63	26	10
						Y & A, Z Z & A, B, Y

who themselves constitute a minority of the non-manual stratum, there are so few who say they are unfairly treated by their employer (Q14b) that an insufficient number for a comparative breakdown is obtained. A comparison for urban manual employees can be made, however, even though the number of such employees who will publicly declare that their employer treats them unfairly is small. These latter turn out to be distinctly more radical and less conservative than those who say they receive fair treatment (Table 75). Grievances and dissatisfactions in themselves are once more shown to be important sources of differences in attitudes and class alignments.

TABLE 75

Relation of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Treatment by Employer to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism Among Urban Manual\* Employees† (Q14b)

I	N	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	PER CENT WHO ARE		
			Radical	Inde- termi- nate	Conserva- tive
Satisfied	279	19	35‡	34	31‡
Dissatisfied	51	22	59‡	33	8‡

\* There were an insufficient number of dissatisfied professional and white collar employees for a comparison between them and manual workers.

† Includes only persons employed by others and who are not managers or supervisors or foremen.

‡ Differences between adjacent figures marked thus in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

*Other Sources of Discontent: Length of Unemployment:* In Table 67 unemployment shows a relatively high correlation with conservatism-radicalism (.42), and it also is positively related to class identification, correlating .26 with this variable. People who have never been out of work are more frequently conservative, and identify more frequently with the upper and middle classes. This is, of course, quite the relationship one might expect to find, since several prior studies have indicated unemployment to be a primary source of discontent with the present economic and political order. Radicalism increases, it is to be seen from inspection of Table 76, propor-

TABLE 76  
 Relation of Occupational Stratification and Length of Unemployment to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism  
 Q11. About what was the longest time you were ever out of work?

Occupational Stratum and Length of Unemployment	N	PER CENT WHO ARE			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between	
		Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between	Indifferent		
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Never Unemployed	247	79	A & C,X,Y,Z	6	19	75
B. Under 1 Year	102	75	B & X,Y,Z	17	25	58
C. 1 Year and Over	46	63	C & A,X,Y,Z	17	22	61
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
X. Never Unemployed	134	25	X & A,B,C	22	35	43
Y. Under 1 Year	161	20	Y & A,B,C	44	31	25
Z. 1 Year and Over	91	19	Z & A,B,C	52	34	14
					X & A,B,C,Y,Z Y & A,B,C,X Z & A,B,C,X	

tionately as the time that people have been out of work is lengthened, or at least it does so among manual workers. People who at some time in their lives have been without work for a year or more are, nonetheless, rather frequently conservative if they are not manual workers in occupation. Thus, in spite of this important trend, occupational stratification appears to be a stronger determinant of attitude and class affiliation than even such a disastrous experience as being without a job, and presumably without a livelihood. It is, as always in these comparisons, the person's present status and role that seems to determine his orientations more than anything else.

### *Influence of Origins and Affiliations*

*Father's Occupation:* It seems reasonable to suspect that men's class affiliations and attitudes might be influenced by certain factors such as their origins, and by present relations with various groups of one sort or another. It occurred to the writer that people born in one stratum of society but now functioning in another might show some traces of loyalty to their past associates in the class identifications they acknowledge. Such is indeed the case, as inspection of Table 77 indicates. Persons who were sons of men of the business, professional and white collar stratum tend to identify themselves more often with the upper or middle classes and to be somewhat more often conservative in attitude than persons whose fathers were manual workers, regardless of their present occupational position. Again, however, the differences which still stand in virtue of their present occupational status and role are unquestionably of greater magnitude. Where a man comes from is of some importance, but where he is now is a more significant index to his present states of mind and behavior, beyond a doubt.

*Marriage Relations:* What is true with respect to the influence of one's father's means of livelihood on present attitudes also is true as far as the influence of one's wife's father's occupation is concerned. People of either of the two occupational groups considered tend to be somewhat more conservative and to identify more often with the upper and middle

TABLE 77  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Family Origins\* to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Father's Occupation	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between
			Radical	Indeterminate	Conservative	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Business, Professional and White Collar	209	82	A & B, Y, Z	11	22	A & Y, Z
B. Manual	103	68	B & A, Y, Z	14	23	B & Y, Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
Y. Business, Professional, and White Collar	50	34	Y & A, B	40	20	Y & A, B
Z. Manual	236	19	Z & A, B	38	37	Z & A, B

\* Only persons with urban occupational backgrounds are considered.

classes if they married the daughters of businessmen, professional persons or white collar workers (Table 78). Manual workers seem much less affected by such cross-stratum marriages than non-manual people, but the trend is present in both strata. As usual, however, what one's own occupation is shows itself to be the more important index to present attitudes.

*Ethnic Background:* It is a not uncommon opinion that much of the radical ideology that is characteristic of our time is an importation from abroad. The "one hundred per cent American" is frequently pictured as being a staunch supporter of the status quo. In order to test this hypothesis, correlation coefficients were computed for nativity and class identification and for nativity and conservatism-radicalism. The results for the total cross section were: for nativity and class affiliation .03, for nativity and conservatism-radicalism .25. Whether a person is native born of native parents or of foreign extraction makes no difference in class affiliation, but it is true that persons of native parentage are somewhat more conservative. In Table 79 are shown the relations of these variables within occupational strata. Persons of foreign extraction are more radical and less conservative in both manual and non-manual strata. There is no consistent trend shown for the relationship of nativity to class identification, however. The large differences that are found linked to the difference in occupational station are again clearly more important.

*Church Membership:* People who belong to churches are also more frequently conservative and of middle or upper class affiliation. For the cross section, church membership correlates .22 with class identification and .18 with conservatism-radicalism. Further, being a Protestant as opposed to being a Catholic is associated with being conservative to the extent of .36 and with being upper or middle class to the extent of .19.

When comparisons are made in terms of these variables with occupational stratum held constant, as in Table 80, it is apparent that these modest trends hold within both occupational categories. Church members as a group are somewhat

TABLE 78  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Marriage Affiliation\* to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Father-in-Law's Occupation	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between
			Radical	Indeterminate	Conservative	
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Business, Professional and White Collar	149	85	A & B, Y, Z	13	16	71
B. Manual	90	67	B & A, Y, Z	9	27	64
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
Y. Business, Professional, and White Collar	43	26	Y & A, B	37	26	37
Z. Manual	155	23	Z & A, B	44	28	28
						Z & A, B

\* Only persons married to daughters of persons of urban occupations are considered.

TABLE 79  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Ethnic Origin to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Origin	N	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conser- vative" Differences Are Sig- nificant Between Radical Indeter- minate Conserva- tive	For "Conser- vative" Differences Are Sig- nificant Between Radical Indeter- minate Conserva- tive
			For "Upper and Middle" Differ- ences Are Sig- nificant Between	Radical	Indeter- minate		
<i>Business, Professional and White Collar</i>							
A. Native Born of Native Parents	288	78	A & Y,Z	8	17	75	A & B,Y,Z
B. Foreign Born or of For- eign Parent or Parents	127	71	B & Y,Z	19	31	50	B & A,Y,Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
Y. Native Born of Native Parents	263	18	Y & A,B	35	35	30	Y & A,B
Z. Foreign Born or of For- eign Parent or Parents	147	27	Z & A,B	46	30	24	Z & A,B

TABLE 80

Relations of Occupational Stratification and Church Affiliation to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Affiliation	N	Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative-Differences Are Significant Between"			
			For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between	Radical	Indeterminate				
I. CHURCH MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS									
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>									
A. Church Members	325	76	A & Y,Z B & Y,Z	9 22	19 30	72 48			
B. Non-Members	91	75							
<i>Manual Workers</i>									
Y. Church Members	271	24	Y & A,B Z & A,B	35 46	38 24	27 30			
Z. Non-Members	140	16							
II. PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS									
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>									
A. Protestants	242	80	A & B,Y,Z B & A,Y,Z	6 15	16 26	78 59			
B. Catholics	65	63							
<i>Manual Workers</i>									
Y. Protestants	165	22	Y & A,B Z & A,B	30 43	37 38	33 19			
Z. Catholics	99	25							

more conservative than non-members. This is not surprising. The church is one of the strongest defenders of the present economic and political order.<sup>6</sup> People may well be influenced by it (or people who are conservative for other reasons may support churches as part of their strategy of defense of their convictions). [It is, however, somewhat surprising to find Catholics more radical as a group than Protestants.] The Catholic Church is generally recognized as the traditional foe of all leftist ideologies. Perhaps it is because members of the Catholic Church are poorer and are more often of alien origin or parentage that more of them are radical. These factors are, as we have already seen, both related to attitude. Until all such variables can be better controlled in the kind of comparison being made here, one cannot be at all sure that the apparent greater radicalism of Catholics is due to church affiliation alone. However the facts may be, the differences in class identification and attitude that are linked to differences in religion are of definitely lesser consequence than those occasioned by occupational stratification.

#### *Degree of Industrialization as an Influence*

*Town Size*: Insofar as modern class structure may be supposed to be a phenomenon that is in great measure a function of modern industrial development, and of the character of the division of labor and power demanded by it, one should not be surprised to find that something concerning attitude may be predicted simply by knowing where people live.

It has already been noted in several ways that living and working on a farm is related to a more conservative politico-economic orientation. When farm dwellers are contrasted with urban dwellers, a correlation of .21 with conservatism-radicalism is obtained. Similarly, when consideration is limited to urban dwellers alone and small town dwellers are contrasted with large town inhabitants a correlation of .32 with conservatism-radicalism is found. Small town people are more conservative. There appears to be practically no correlation

<sup>6</sup> There are individual exceptions to this general statement, for some churches have occasionally shown liberal or even radical tendencies.

TABLE 81  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Town Size to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratum and Town Size	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative" Differ- ences Are Significant Between	For "Conservative" Differ- ences Are Significant Between
			Radical	Indeter- minate	Conserv- ative		
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. 500,000 and over	89	71	A & W,X,Y,Z	21	27	52	A & C,D,W,X,Y,Z
B. 100,000-500,000	71	73	B & W,X,Y,Z	20	29	51	B & C,D,W,X,Y,Z
C. 10,000-100,000	99	80	C & W,X,Y,Z	10	14	76	C & A,B,W,X,Y,Z
D. Under 10,000	158	77	D & W,X,Y,Z	2	19	79	D & A,B,W,X,Y,Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
W. 500,000 and over	115	30	W & A,B,C,D,Z	48	31	21	W & A,B,C,D,Z
X. 100,000-500,000	53	19	X & A,B,C,D	43	36	21	X & A,B,C,D,Z
Y. 10,000-100,000	109	20	Y & A,B,C,D	36	35	29	Y & A,B,C,D
Z. Under 10,000	136	15	Z & A,B,C,D,W	30	33	37	Z & A,B,C,D,W

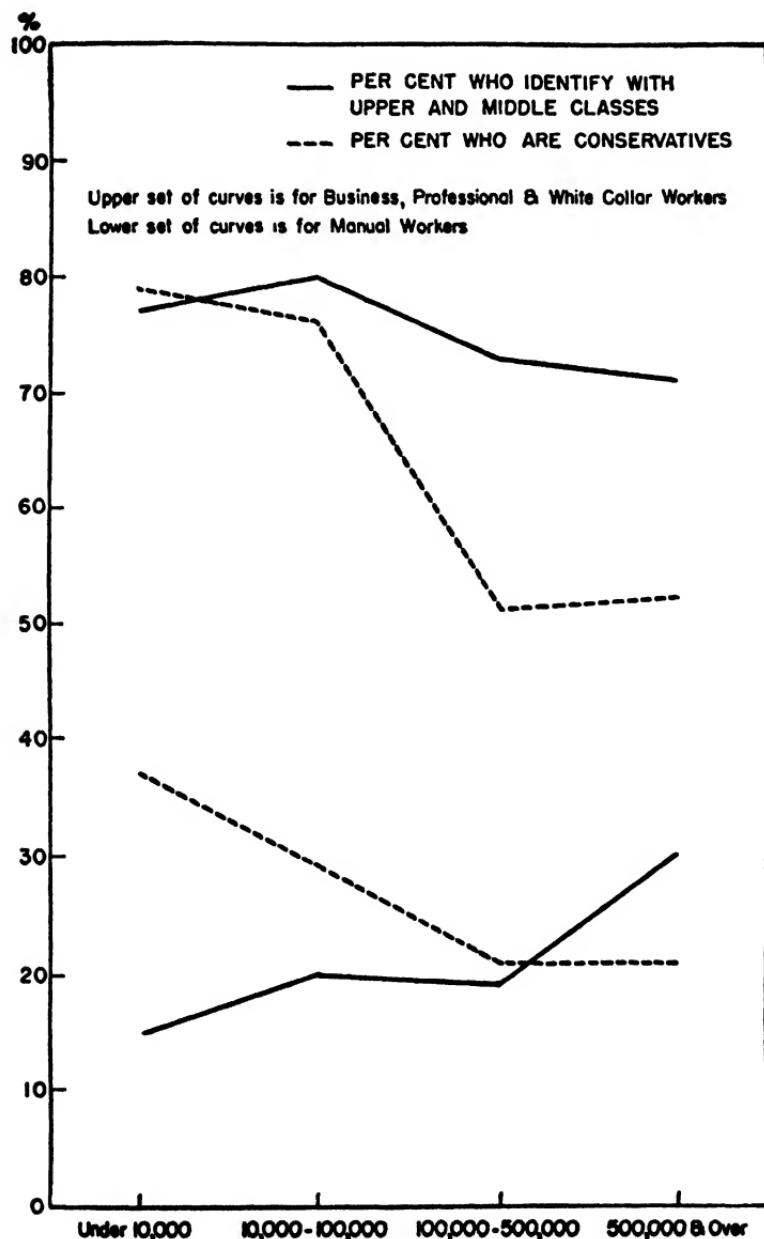


FIGURE 23. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Town Size to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

TABLE 82  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Section\* to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Section	N	Per Cent Identifying with Upper and Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are			For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between	For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between
			For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between	Radical	Indeterminate		
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>							
A. North-East	121	71	A & X, Y, Z	15	24	61	A & B, C, X, Y, Z
B. Mid-West	151	79	B & X, Y, Z	9	18	73	B & A, X, Y, Z
C. South	88	76	C & X, Y, Z	7	18	75	C & A, X, Y, Z
<i>Manual Workers</i>							
X. North-East	165	18	X & A, B, C	45	38	17	X & A, B, C, Y, Z
Y. Mid-West	134	22	Y & A, B, C	34	27	39	Y & A, B, C, X
Z. South	67	18	Z & A, B, C	33	31	36	Z & A, B, C, X

\* The numbers of persons from the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States are too small for breakdown purposes.

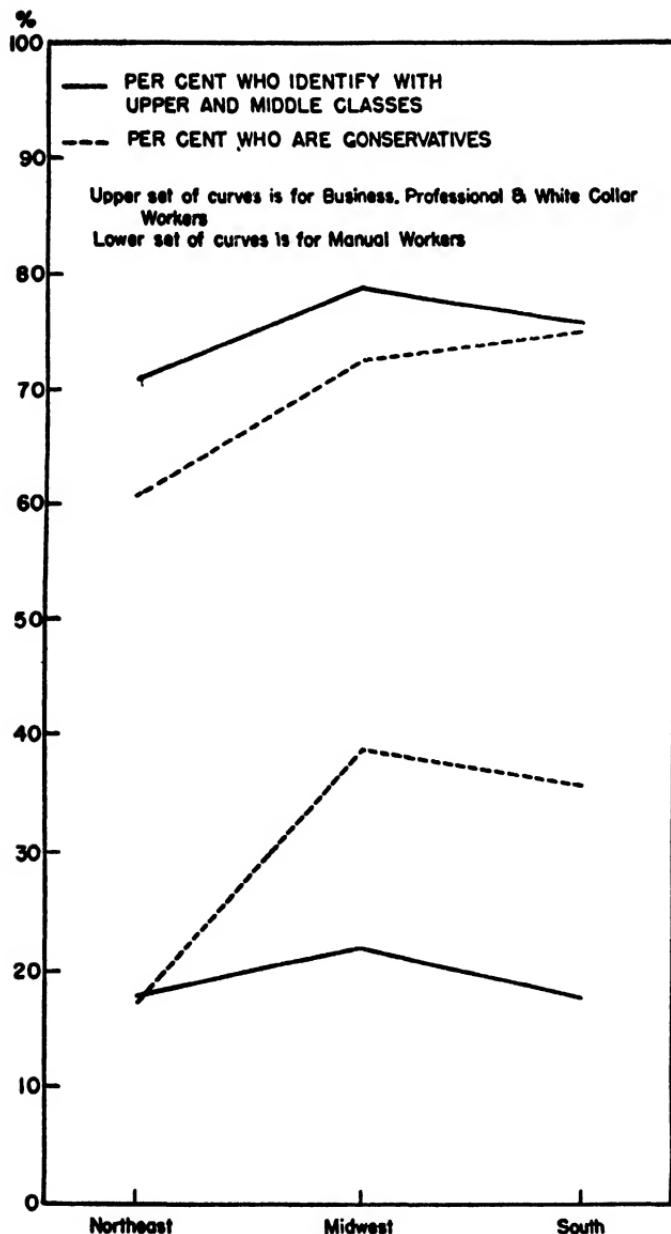


FIGURE 24. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Section to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

between town size and class identification, however. In Table 81 and Figure 23 it is to be seen that the tendency for conservatism-radicalism to vary with town size is a rather general one irrespective of occupational stratification. People of both occupational groups are less conservative if they live in the larger towns. There does not seem to be any consistent trend in class identification. What differences there are exist in opposite directions within the separate strata. For the manual stratum somewhat greater percentages of people identify with the upper and middle classes as town size increases, but for the non-manual stratum such identification shows a minor decrease. Possibly some selective and uncontrolled economic variable is operating here. In any case the trends are both of only minor importance in comparison with the variations in attitude and class identification due to occupational differences.

*Section:* Like town size, the section of the country in which people live makes differences in their attitudes. People living in areas of predominantly agricultural or mixed agricultural and industrial economy are more conservative, on the whole, than persons who reside in heavily industrialized regions such as the northeastern states. This is true irrespective of occupational stratum as is shown in Table 82 and Figure 24. Despite this, it is to be clearly seen that occupational differences are of more importance.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINANTS (CONTINUED)

#### *Relative Significance of Various Determinants as Indicated by Correlational Analysis*

THE above extended series of comparisons of the influence of occupational stratification with that of each of several other factors has indicated clearly that occupational stratification is a distinctly more important index to class identification and conservatism-radicalism than any of those that have been considered. Variables other than occupation are, however, not demonstrated to be of inconsequential significance, for each of them has effects upon the class identifications and attitudes of people that appear to be independent of occupational stratification. One might accept this independent influence as fact and close consideration of the matter there, but it would be somewhat hasty to do so.

It could be and was demonstrated by the method of contrasted groups that occupation was of primary importance, but it was *not* thereby demonstrated that the variations apparent in virtue of age differences, differences in origin, education, etc. were truly, in themselves, important sources of variation in class identification and attitudes and important independently of *any* kind of socio-economic stratification. Before this can be asserted for any of the variables the entire variation due to socio-economic stratification must be reckoned with, and certainly a large amount of such variation remains even when occupational stratification is held (broadly) constant. A consideration of this residual stratification variation will make this clear.

In Table 83 and Figure 25 is shown how class identification and conservatism-radicalism vary with dominance-subordination status within each of the two broad occupational categories. How can one be sure that some of the variation seen in connection with other variables is really due to them alone and not just a function of some linkage they have to power

TABLE 83  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Power or Dominance-Subordination Stratification to Class Identification  
and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Dominance-Subordination Status	N	PER CENT WHO ARE				
		Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between Classes	Radical	Inde- ter- mi- nate	Con- ser- vative
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>						
A. Employers	103	81	A & D,Z B & D,Z	8	15	77
B. Managers	102	86	B & D,Z	6	14	80
C. Independents	39*	82		5	23	72
D. Employees	173	65	D & A,B,Z	17	30	53
<i>Manual Workers</i>						
X. Managers (Foremen)	24*	50		17	25	58
Y. Independents	34*	18		30	29	41
Z. Employees	353	19	Z & A,B,D	41	34	25
						Z & A,B,D

\* Not compared for significance.

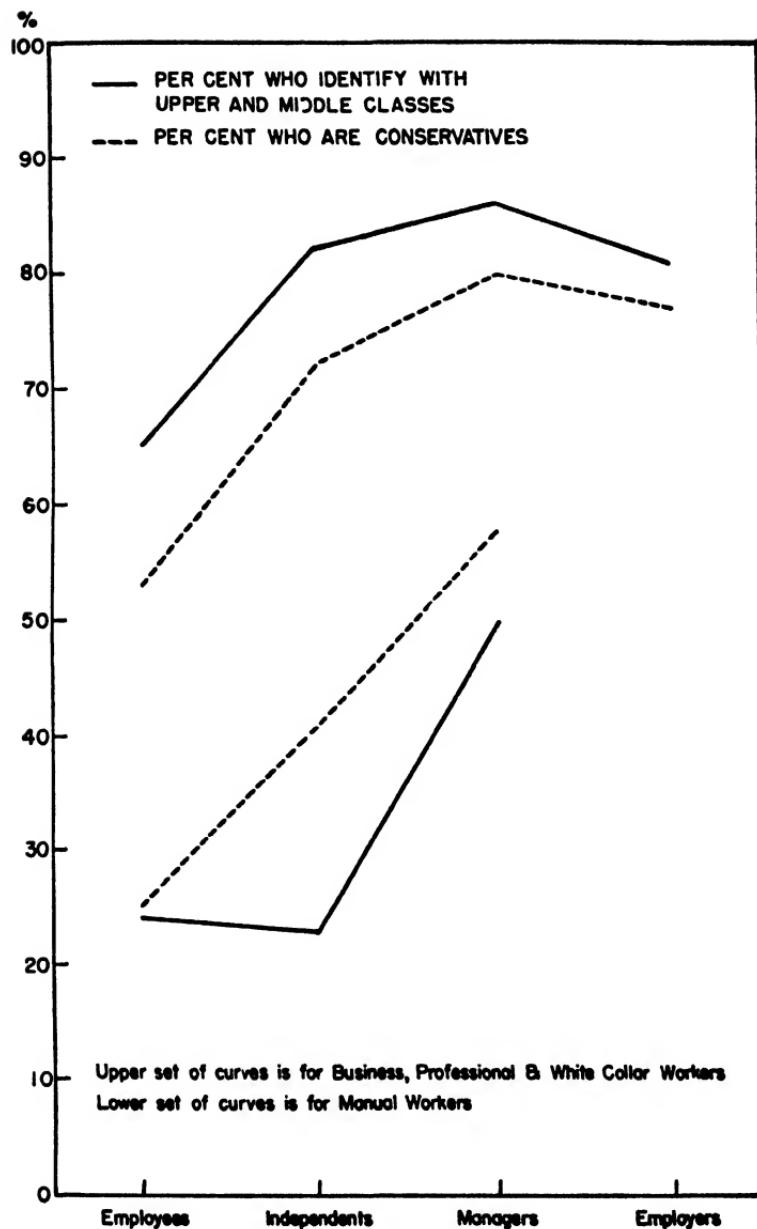


FIGURE 25. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Power Stratification to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

or dominance-subordination status? Certainly the variation linked to these latter relationships is quite large. Being in control over others is quite significantly related to being upper or middle class in identification and to being conservative in attitude. The role of dominance in this connection is particularly well illustrated by the case of foremen. Though they are manual workers themselves, they nevertheless manifest a very strong tendency to identify themselves with the middle and upper classes and to be conservative in politico-economic orientation. The numbers in this cross section are very few, but their responses are quite in harmony with evidences obtained from other sources on this point.

A survey by the Opinion Research Corporation conducted in 1945 asked of several hundred foremen: "There are several views as to the place that foremen occupy in relation to management and the workers. Would you say that foremen are a part of management, or that they are more like workers?"<sup>1</sup>

The interesting results obtained by Opinion Research for this question are summarized in Table 84. A majority of foremen think of themselves, not as workers, but as a part of management. This conviction becomes stronger, moreover, as

TABLE 84

Management-Worker Identification of Foremen, and Influence of Length of Time as a Foreman on Identification\*

	N	% Management	% Workers	% Neither, or Between	% Don't Know
All Foremen	764	59	20	20	1
<i>Foremanship Tenure</i>					
Under 2 years	227	49†‡	22	26†	3
2-5 years	169	61†	18	20	1
Over 5 years	365	64‡	19	16†	1

\* Data from M. Sherif and H. Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involve-ments*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1947.

†‡ Differences between like-marked figures in the same column are statistically reliable at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in M. Sherif and H. Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involve-ments*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1947, page 144.

the length of time they have had the privilege of power is increased.

[The data from the present study show that the *amount of power* one has is also an important influence (Table 85). People who employ or supervise fifty or more persons are found

TABLE 85

Relations of Power Stratification\* to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Number of Employees or Subordinates	N	PER CENT WHO IDENTIFY WITH		PER CENT WHO ARE		
		Upper and Middle Classes	Working and Lower Classes	Radical	Indeter- minate	Conserva- tive
50 and Over	37	100	—	2	3	95
5-49	83	88†	12†	4	13	83†
Under 5	85	73†	27†	13	20	67†

\* Only persons in the Business, Professional, and White Collar Stratum are considered.

† Differences between adjacent figures marked thus in the same column are statistically significant at the 95 per cent confidence level or better.

identifying with the upper or middle classes in 100 per cent of the cases and are found to be conservative in attitude in 95 per cent of the cases.]

[Economic status is even more significant a "determinant" of class identification and conservatism-radicalism than power, however.] Table 86 and Figure 26 indicate the great differences that are found related to differences in economic status within given occupational strata.] Probably not all of such differences are due entirely to variations in economic level, for occupation is still varying to a certain extent within each broad category, but be this as it may, the differences are large ones.] That at least is true within the non-manual stratum. Within the manual group the differences are small, and that fact constitutes clear evidence that occupation itself is important as a determinant of class identifications and attitudes, or is, at least, an important index to them.]

[The fact that each of these three stratification indices is significantly related to identification and attitude creates at once the suspicion that non-economic variables may not be of

TABLE 86  
Relations of Occupational Stratification and Economic Stratification to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

Occupational Stratification and Economic Level	N	Per Cent Who Are			
		Per Cent Who Identify with Upper and Middle Classes	For "Upper and Middle" Differences Are Significant Between	Radical	Conservative
<i>Business, Professional, and White Collar</i>					
A. Wealthy	41	90	A & D, E, X, Y, Z	5	7
B. Average Plus	101	90	B & D, E, X, Y, Z	7	14
C. Average	180	78	C & B, D, E, X, Y, Z	10	23
D. Poor Plus	54	56	D & A, B, C, X, Y, Z	13	30
E. Poor	41	41	E & A, B, C, Y, Z	29	37
<i>Manual Workers</i>					
W. Average Plus	8	—	—	—	—
X. Average	57	28	X & A, B, C, D	33	35
Y. Poor Plus	155	23	Y & A, B, C, D, E	36	35
Z. Poor	191	16	Z & A, B, C, D, E	43	31

For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between

For "Conservative" Differences Are Significant Between

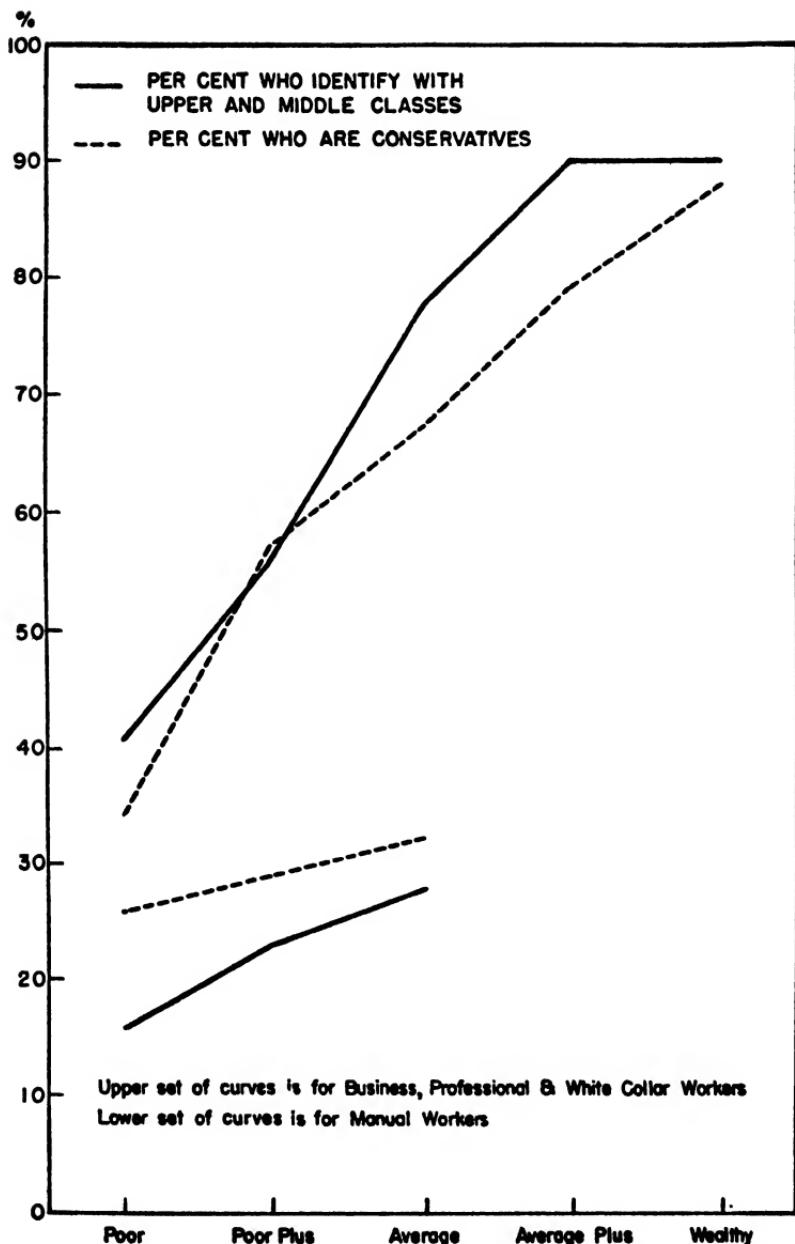


FIGURE 26. Relations of Occupational Stratification and Economic Stratification to Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism

any real significance in themselves, but may show the slight degrees of concomitancy of variation with identification and politico-economic orientation, that are found, simply in virtue of the concomitancy of variation they themselves have with stratification indices.<sup>1</sup> Recognition of this creates a serious problem which one cannot hope to solve here by the breakdown or fractionation technique that has been employed to demonstrate the primacy of occupational stratification as a determinant. There are insufficient numbers of cases in the sample to permit the holding of three stratification indices constant simultaneously as the method of fractionation demands. Either one must terminate the analysis here or resort to other techniques for solution.

A correlational analysis suggests itself as a possible method, for tetrachoric correlations are available for each of these several variables. If one could in some manner pool the variation due to stratification factors and hold this constant while determining the net or remaining relationships between each of the other variables and class identification and conservatism-radicalism, a reasonably satisfactory solution to the problem of variance might be considered to have been achieved.

Two approaches are possible here. One might compute a *multiple correlation* for occupational, power, and economic stratification with class affiliation and another for these with conservatism-radicalism, and, holding these correlations constant, compute partial  $r$ 's for each of the variables listed in Table 67 and class identification, and compute another group of partial  $r$ 's for each of these variables and conservatism-radicalism. But this would be a most cumbersome, most arduous, and very lengthy procedure, and many would be sure to scoff at the results achieved by such a method. The structure of relationships is a very complex one, and tetrachoric correlations seem too crude for such involved statistical manipulation. One might be regarded as magnifying error instead of getting closer to actual relationships.

But it seems defensible enough to combine the stratification indices physically into a single criterion, and to compute a zero order tetrachoric for this criterion and class identification and another for this index and conservatism-radicalism.

This was done. A word here, however, about the stratification scale constructed; the actual construction of the scale was described in Chapter IV, and it was indicated there that the writer recognized the somewhat arbitrary character of his procedure. But there was nevertheless a definite rationale in the steps taken, and if an index constructed on such a basis can be demonstrated to have the essential properties of a scale it can be defended as a useful analytical tool. Demonstrations of the scale properties of the stratification index are to be found in Table 87 and in Figures 27 and 28. Persons scoring high are quite plainly distinguished in terms of class identifi-

TABLE 87

Relation of Stratification Score to Class Identification  
and Conservatism-Radicalism

Strati- fica- tion Score	Number Obtaining Score	Per Cent Who Identify with the Upper or Middle Classes	Per Cent Who Are Conserva- tive in Attitude
24	10	100	90
23	2	100	100
22	27	89	93
21	6	100	67
20	51	84	84
19	14	86	79
18	61	80	71
17	13	92	85
16	40	65	83
15	25	80	80
14	36	53	67
13	21	67	67
12	62	48	73
11	48	77	54
10	35	34	54
9	85	64	59
8	28	32	57
7	77	40	34
6	5	40	20
5	85	32	34
4	15	7	27
3	109	16	27
2	33	15	30
1	87	14	20
0	67	16	24

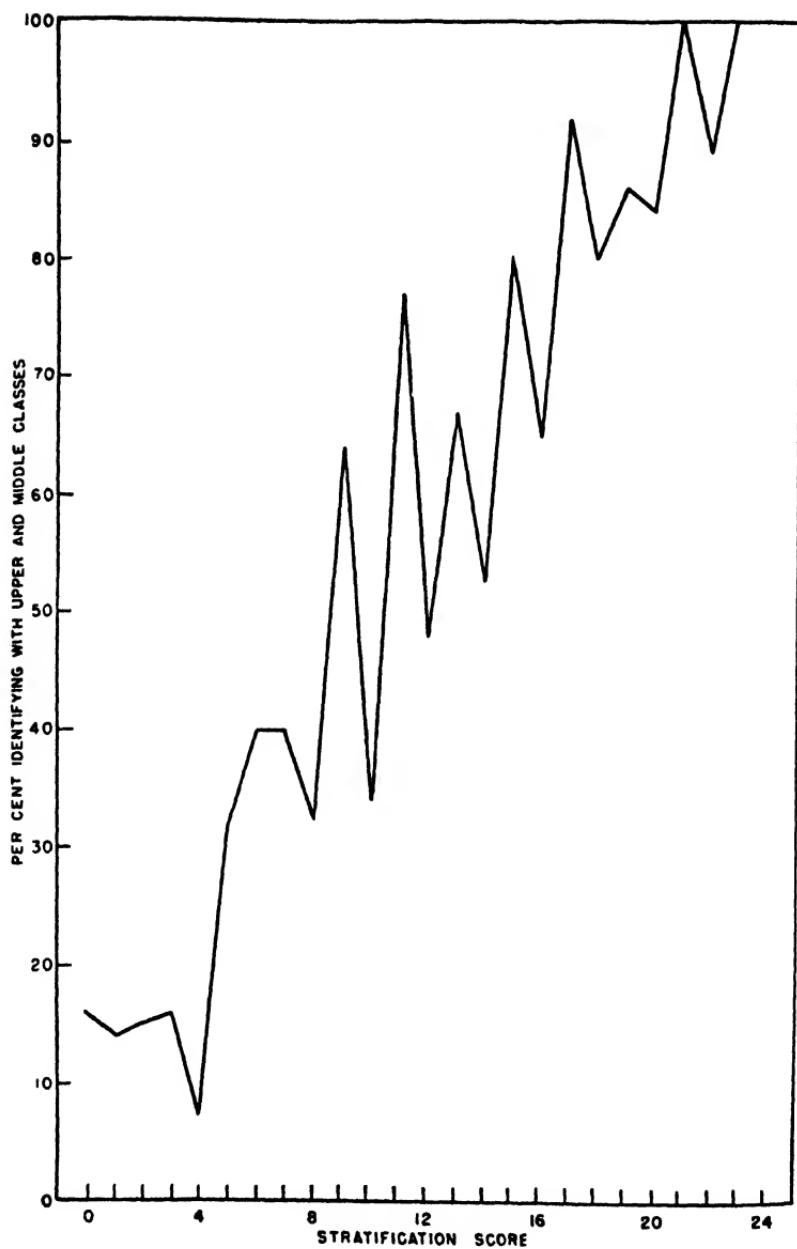


FIGURE 27. Class Identification and Socio-Economic Stratification

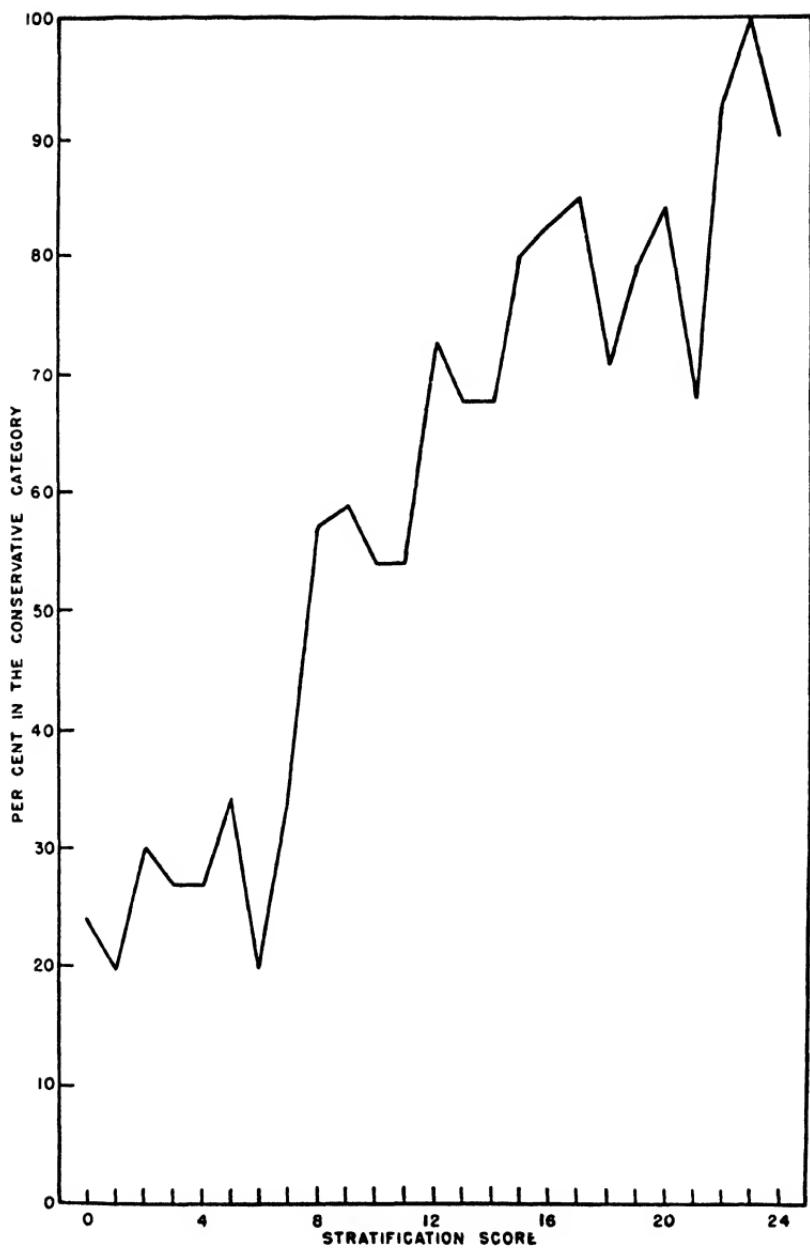


FIGURE 28. Conservatism-Radicalism and Socio-Economic Stratification

cation and conservatism from those scoring medium or low. There is considerable fluctuation, much of it due, no doubt, to the small numbers in some of the score brackets, but the trend is inevitable and clear.

The next step requires the computation of a correlation coefficient for the stratification score and class identification and another for it and conservatism-radicalism. Since the other coefficients (i.e. those summarized in Table 67) are tetrachoric correlations, these latter are also tetrachoric  $r$ 's. Class identification is found to be correlated with the stratification scale (dichotomized at the mean score, 8) to the extent of .67, and conservatism-radicalism correlates with it to the degree of .61. The next steps require the computation of correlations for the stratification score and each of the variables listed in Table 67, and, finally, the computation of correlations for each of these variables and class identification with the influence of stratification held constant or partialed out, and similarly, computation of the correlations of each of these variables and conservatism-radicalism with the influence of stratification held constant. In Table 88 are summarized the results of these operations. Zero order  $r$ 's for each of the variables, as listed in Table 67, are also included for comparisons between them and the net relationships obtained when the influence of stratification is partialed out.

The data summarized in Table 88 make it unambiguously clear that, as far as the variables being considered in this research are concerned, class identification and conservatism-radicalism are far more the functions of socio-economic stratification than anything else. The several variables that are correlated with class identification to some extent or other are seen to derive most of their concomitancy of variation with those functions mainly from the strength of their association with stratification itself. Those that remain significantly related to class identification and conservatism-radicalism when the stratification influence is held constant have their coefficients generally substantially reduced in size after the stratification influence is removed. Only two variables, Education and Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life, appear to have any significant linkage to class identification. Those that still

appear to an appreciable degree correlated with conservatism-radicalism are somewhat more numerous, but seldom of large importance. Town size, with a correlation of .38 is distinctly the most important. Satisfaction with Chance to Enjoy Life is next, .30, then Satisfaction with Pay, .28, Nativity, .26, Section, .23, Protestantism, .18, and finally Unemployment, with a coefficient of .16. The rest seem of trivial consequence.

TABLE 88

Zero Order Tetrachoric Correlations of Several Sociological and Psychological Variables with Class Identification and with Conservatism-Radicalism, and with Stratification, and the Correlations of These Variables with Class Identification and Conservatism-Radicalism When the Influence of Stratification Is Partialled Out\*

Name of Variable	Correlation with Class Identification	Correlation with Conservatism-Radicalism	Correlation with Stratification Index	Correlation with Class Identification with Correlation of Stratification Index Partialled Out	Correlation with Conservatism-Radicalism with Correlation of Stratification Index Partialled Out
Education	.56	.38	.59	.27	.03
Age	.11	.06	.14	.02	-.03
Desires‡	.35	.27	.40	.12	.05
Satisfaction with Job	.20	.26	.31	-.01	.09
Satisfaction with Pay	.20	.33	.19	.10	.28
Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement	.24	.31	.36	-.002	.12
Satisfaction with Chances to Enjoy Life	.35	.42	.32	.19	.30
Unemployment	.26	.42	.51	-.13	.16
Nativity	.03	.25	.07	-.02	.26
Church Membership	.22	.18	.21	.11	.07
Protestantism‡	.19	.36	.35	-.06	.18
Town Size	.01	.32	.04	-.06	.38
Section	.14	.29	.18	.03	.23

\* Partial correlations with Class Identification and with Conservatism-Radicalism for each of the variables listed are, in each case, based on the correlations of Stratification with Class Affiliation, and Stratification with Conservatism-Radicalism that are computed for a sample containing complete data with respect to all four variables in question. The occasional variations in the sizes of the coefficients of correlation of Stratification with Class Identification and Stratification with Conservatism-Radicalism that are introduced by this procedure are uniformly trivial.

† For the dichotomization of each variable listed, see Table 67.

‡ See note in Table 67 concerning the *N*'s for these variables.

These correlations are not at all contrary to expectation. There seem adequate reasons why they should be related to conservatism-radicalism. These reasons have all been briefly outlined in preceding discussion; hence there is no point to a repetition of them here.

Table 88 also provides some suggestions, however, as to the reason why class identification and conservatism-radicalism are not entirely perfect correlates of each other. Such suggestions are found in those cases where a variable is found significantly related to class identification, but not to conservatism, or where the reverse of this is true. For example, higher educational attainment appears to induce people to identify with the higher classes but to have no appreciable influence toward making them conservative. The suggestion in this finding is that common cultural and intellectual interests make for such strong bonds of affiliation among persons that even people of comparatively poor and "lowly"<sup>2</sup> economic and occupational circumstances, but of higher educational achievement than is typical of persons of such status, are often induced to identify themselves with classes they think of as being more educated. (Education was shown in Chapter VI to be an important criterion of classes.) This identification on the basis of common educational achievements and intellectual interests takes place despite the fact that their political and economic views are not similar to those of these better educated classes, for it seems to be common economic and occupational fate that determines these attitudes. The imperfect correlation between class identification and conservatism-radicalism would thus seem to be in some part due to a conflict of interests.

It is also possible to see the imperfect correlation between class identification and politico-economic attitudes as a function in part of a conflict, not of interests, but of interests and pride or self esteem. In our culture, few would deny, educational achievements in themselves confer a certain amount of social prestige or social status upon their possessor, and it is entirely possible that it "goes against the grain" for many

<sup>2</sup> Prior research has consistently shown that people characteristically rank occupations, on the basis of their esteem or prestige, in just about the same manner as they are ordered in the data presented in this book.

people to identify themselves with groups commonly considered by society to be more lowly.

[It is also entirely possible, of course, to view the imperfect correlation between conservatism-radicalism and class affiliation as a partial function of both of these types of conflict.] The writer, at least, inclines toward this interpretation.

Unemployment is another variable that seems to have somewhat disharmonious effects with respect to class identification and politico-economic attitudes. Having never been unemployed tends to go with being conservative, but appears to have a negative relation, if it can be said to have any, with respect to identification with the upper and middle classes. The same might be said with respect to Nativity. Being a "one hundred per center" makes for conservatism in attitude, but makes no difference in class affiliation. Being a Protestant, living in a non-industrial region, or in a small town (which is presumably less industrialized than a large town) are all circumstances of negligible importance, apparently, to one's class affiliation, but do tend to go with greater conservatism irrespective of socio-economic stratification. The reasons for these latter relationships are not at all plain. There is a need for much further research before one can guess their real significance.

## CHAPTER XII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE fact that the critical condition of a world which today so clearly threatens to divide into two sharply opposed camps is in some large measure the result of a long enduring contest between social classes of irreconcilable ideologies and faiths ; and the evidences that this conflict has now reached a critical phase in our own country have made it more imperative than ever before that psychologists and social scientists attempt to gain some understanding of the psychological and social factors that lie behind it. It is to an understanding of the class consciousness that must be basic to such conflict that the studies reported in this volume have been dedicated.

A review of some of the formative and representative views regarding the nature of social classes showed it necessary to make a clear distinction between the concepts of social strata and social classes. These had heretofore been so ill-defined and so much confused with each other that this was imperative before research having a clear and definite aim could be undertaken. In order to be able always to distinguish internally cohesive and genuinely functional class groupings bound together by group consciousness, common interests, sympathies, etc., from the various categories of the population that are merely aggregates of people as defined by some objective criterion such as occupation or income, the first were called social classes, the second social strata.

Review of the older literature on social classes also clearly revealed the most central problem of their nature to lie in the supposed relationship between strata and class phenomena, and also led to the formulation of an hypothesis concerning the relation between social stratification and class consciousness which was called the interest group theory of class structure. This theory (to state it in the exact words used in Chapter II) implies that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society imposes upon him certain

attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere. It holds, further, that the status and role of the individual in relation to the means of production and exchange of goods and services gives rise in him to a consciousness of membership in some social class which shares those attitudes, values and interests|

It is to the appraisal of this theory, in a broad sense, and to problems coordinate with it that the major portion of the data comprising this work have been ordered.

In view of the extensiveness of those data, which have filled chapter after chapter, it will perhaps strengthen the reader's grasp of this material to review briefly the bold outlines of the evidence which has been presented in much more minute and perhaps in somewhat confusing detail in earlier chapters.

### *General Techniques and Procedures*

In this exploration of the nature of the relationships between socio-economic stratification and the psychological characteristics of individuals, person to person interviews were conducted with members of a representative cross section of the adult white male population of the United States by members of the field staff of the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University, working under the general direction of the writer. Each interview followed a standardized procedure and schedule of questions devised and pretested in advance, and designed to obtain responses that would form the basis for inferences with respect to various aspects of the nature of social classes.

As a means of testing the theory that different socio-economic strata are characterized by differing attitudes and beliefs in the conservatism-radicalism sense, a brief attitude test was included in the interview. This conservatism-radicalism scale has not only demonstrated satisfactory internal consistency, but, relatively speaking, quite high validity in terms of a behavioral criterion of conservatism-radicalism. The test result, along with data regarding the individual's political behavior and his economic alignment, or union affiliation—the whole comprising what might be respected as the crucial evi-

dences of the individual's politico-economic orientation—was then systematically examined for its relation to occupational stratification. Following this, the primary index of group consciousness—class identification—was likewise examined with respect to this variable. Finally, all these psychological data were presented in their relations with other stratification indices in completing a series of tests for the relationships between stratum and class phenomena demanded by the interest group hypothesis.

### *Stratification and Class Consciousness*

#### *Occupational Stratification and Class Consciousness*

THE following are some of the outstanding findings with regard to the politico-economic orientations and class affiliations of occupational strata.

| *Conservatism-Radicalism*: There are large and statistically significant differences among occupational strata as determined by the battery of questions concerned with conservatism-radicalism. The top occupational strata are marked by their adherence to the status quo in the order of politico-economic relations. In contrast, the lowest occupational groups are distinguished by their lack of support of the status quo and by their endorsement of views clearly radical in character. Occupational groups that lie between these two extremes of the stratification hierarchy show a greater preponderance of conservative attitudes and a diminishing quota of radical views in proportion (roughly speaking) as their occupational positions are higher or lower in the hierarchy. Insofar as this conservatism-radicalism aspect of class consciousness is concerned the data tend to fall very much into the sort of pattern demanded by the interest group hypothesis.

| *Political Behavior*: A substantial degree of relationship is also found between political behavior and occupational status. The higher groups are characterized by much greater support of the traditionally conservative Republican Party than is the case with the lower occupational strata.

| Similar trends in political behavior are found to exist for the fathers and mothers of the subjects. Parents of people in

the higher occupational categories showed, like their sons, definitely more habitual support of the Republican Party, while the parents of those in the lower strata tended to back the Democratic Party.])

The data present a picture of incipient cleavage of occupational strata along political lines beginning as far back as a generation ago and becoming increasingly wider with time. Like the data on conservatism-radicalism, they fall into line with the interest group concept quite nicely, though indicating less conditioning by stratification factors than the former.

*Unionism*: As had been anticipated, there are also distinct differences in economic alignments among occupational strata. Not only do people of lower occupational groups belong to labor unions in substantial numbers, but they manifest distinctly more typical approval of unions than do persons in higher occupational strata.

*Class Identification*: The relationship between occupational stratification and class affiliation is the most marked of all the manifold correlations uncovered in this research. In heavy majority the upper strata feel they belong to the upper and middle classes while the lower strata, in like numbers, identify themselves with the working and lower classes.]

#### *Other Stratification Indices and Class Consciousness*

[ Relations for these psychological variables quite similar to those noted with respect to occupational stratification are also manifest when the data are examined with regard to power stratification and economic stratification, as well as with a stratification score which combines the three stratification variables into a unitary socio-economic stratification index. Those who control more people in an economic situation, who are characterized by a greater amount of wealth or higher standard of living, or who obtain a higher score on the combined socio-economic scale, are all more frequently conservative in attitude, are more frequently the supporters of the Republican Party, less frequently belong to and approve of labor unions, and are found more frequently identified with the upper and middle classes.]

*The Nature of Social Classes**Formal and Structural Aspects*

It was concluded on the basis of all these above evidences of the relations of stratification and class variables that the data strongly supported a conception of social classes as political and economic interest groups tending to be structured primarily along the lines of socio-economic stratification, though not entirely determined by such lines.

A further and more crucial confirmation of this interest group view was found in the substantial relationship obtaining between politico-economic orientations and class identification itself. Just as people who differ in socio-economic position differ in class affiliation, so people who differ in class affiliation differ in turn in politico-economic orientation.

A series of comparisons of class and stratum differences in politico-economic views and behavior revealed that class identification, stratification, and this latter complex of variables are all so interrelated that both differences in objective socio-economic position and differences of a psychological nature must serve to recruit persons to different social classes. These objective and subjective differences, moreover, were found to be additive in their effects on politico-economic orientation. More concretely, it was shown that when objective status is high and class identification is likewise high, conservative orientation is most likely of all to prevail. Conversely, when objective status is low and class identification is also low, radical orientation is most likely to be found.

*Essential Character*: It is not easy to define social classes in any precise terms and at the present stage of research unwise to do so, but the following is a summary of the writer's impression regarding them.

Social classes in their essential nature can be characterized as psychologically or subjectively based groupings defined by the allegiance of their members. Integral to their structuring are tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the qualifications for membership in them, tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the occupational characteristics of their membership, tendencies toward

common attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in economic and political matters, and perhaps tendencies toward common attitudes, beliefs and behavior in many other ways as yet undiscovered and undefined. These constituent tendencies in the formation of social classes are the responses of individuals to the whole complex situation of their lives, but are determined to a very large extent by their statuses and roles in their activities of getting a living. Classes can be less comprehensively described simply as politico-economic interest groups formed in response to total life situation dominated by socio-economic position.]

### *Characteristics of the Several Classes*

Besides the above over-all formal characteristics of social classes, many other details can be briefly reviewed with reference to the nature of the specific classes, upper, middle, working and lower respectively.

*The Upper Class:* [The upper class is one of the two smallest classes in the social structure. Only about 3 or 4 per cent of our population affiliate themselves to it. As defined by its own members it consists principally of big business owners and executives and professional persons such as physicians and lawyers, but a small majority of its members include small business owners and managers in their specifications. Minorities of members include certain other occupational groups in it as well, so that the line separating it from the middle class is blurred by the inclusion of strata that are most typically components of that class.]

[The occupational stratum most typically identifying with it consists of large business owners and managers, but only a small minority of this group does so. Still smaller numbers of professional persons, small business people, white collar workers, farmers, and even a very few urban manual workers affiliate themselves with it.]

[In terms of the ideas of the population at large, by far the most distinctive criterion of membership is wealth, but both being well educated and having good family connections are important. A large number of miscellaneous criteria add up to

high status in general as the distinctive feature qualifying one for membership.

In terms of its own members' responses, the most important thing to know about a person (other than occupation) before accepting him to membership in this class is "how he believes and feels about certain things." His family connection, his educational achievement and his financial status rank next, in that order. As far as the attitudes and beliefs of the upper class as a whole are concerned, the available data indicate this to be the most distinctively conservative group in the class system.

*The Middle Class* | About 40 per cent of the population identifies itself with the middle class, making it the second largest of the four classes. Its occupational composition, according to the specifications of its own members, is principally a business and managerial one. The most distinctively component strata are small business owners and managers and store and factory managers, but majorities of its affiliates recognize salesmen and office workers. Fairly large minorities will include physicians, lawyers and farmers, but only comparatively small numbers of its members admit other occupational groups, so that it is typical not to include big business owners and executives and manual workers.

In terms of the occupational strata that most characteristically identify with it, the middle class is most heavily composed of business owners and managers, professional persons, white collar workers and farm owners and managers. It is a distinctly proprietorial and managerial group, yet it has recruited to its ranks substantial numbers of the more conservative urban manual workers and farm tenants and laborers.

| According to people in general, the chief qualifications for membership are a fair amount of money, a comfortable standard of living, a good education and proprietorship of some sort. Minor criteria such as security in one's job and decent family connections play some part also. Like the upper class person, the member of the middle class is most likely to consider how a person "believes and feels about certain things" the most important thing (other than occupation) to know about him in deciding whether or not he belongs to his class. Like the upper class person also, the middle class person tends

to be quite conservative in his political and economic orientations. As far as voting is concerned, the middle class person was just as likely to back Roosevelt as Dewey in the 1944 election, but he was much more likely than a working class person to favor Dewey. Other respects in which middle class persons differ from working class people in a psychological sense are summarized in another section.¶

*The Working Class* ¶ By far the largest of all classes is the working class, for it includes well over half the population as members. Occupationally it is defined by its members as being made up most distinctly of factory workers, laborers such as miners, truck drivers and shop workers, farmers, service workers such as waiters and bartenders, and servants. Not quite half of its affiliates include office workers as members, and somewhat less than a third of them say that salesmen belong. Its members thus conceive it as a big, broad, heterogeneous class made up of people who earn their living either by manual toil or by working for someone else, or both.¶

¶ The occupational strata that most characteristically identify with it likewise are those distinguished by these attributes. They are mainly the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled urban manual workers and the farm tenants and laborers. Very substantial minorities of farm owners and managers and white collar workers and somewhat lesser minorities of business and professional persons identify themselves with it, however. These latter recruits tend to be those of employee status and those who are poorer in these strata. They tend also to be distinctly less conservative and more radical than persons of their occupational strata who identify with the middle class.¶

¶ The chief criteria for membership in this class are being a worker or "working for a living," being a manual worker, having a low income and being an employee or wage worker. Lack of education or training, type of job or kind of work and lack of security of an economic kind also serve to distinguish members of this class from others.¶

¶ Like other classes, people of the working class say that, in determining whether a person belongs in their class or not, the most important thing to know about him (other than occupation) is how he believes and feels about certain things.¶

| As a group the working class is much more radical than the middle and upper classes though it is not quite so radical as the lower class. | Members of this class, more frequently than others, are members of labor unions and they backed Roosevelt in heavy majority in the election of 1944.

*The Lower Class* : | The lower class is very small. Only about 1 to 5 per cent of the population are identified with it. Its occupational components, as specified by a majority of its members, are laborers and servants. Substantial minorities of affiliates also include factory workers and service workers such as waiters and bartenders in their specifications. |

| Those who affiliate with it are drawn mainly from among unskilled urban manual workers and from farm tenants and laborers, though scattered recruits are found in each of the other occupational groups except the professional and the two business categories. |

| The chief criterion of membership is poverty, but poor education and low status in almost any respect are conceived by people in general to put a person in this class. Its own members stress poverty and poor education without acknowledging low status in other respects to any appreciable extent. The scanty evidence available makes it appear that this is the most radical class of all from the standpoint of political and economic attitudes, but more study is needed before this can be established as a certainty. |

#### *Other Psychological Differences between Social Classes*

Besides the substantial differences in conservatism-radicalism, voting behavior and union affiliation between social classes, there are differences between them in various other respects that help to define the limits of class cleavage. The following statements summarize the principal findings with respect to differences between the working and middle classes.

| *Sympathies and Antipathies* : Majorities in both the middle and working classes believe that big business owners and executives are over-rewarded. Large numbers of the working class people believe that this is true of doctors and lawyers also. Few urban middle class affiliates, in contrast, believe the latter to be overpaid. There is, on the whole, also, a modest

tendency for people in the middle class to sympathize, in the matter of pay, with the persons of non-manual occupations who are typically thought of as members of the middle class. Working class people, in contrast, manifest a tendency to sympathize more with manual workers in the matter of pay, that is, with occupational groups who are typically conceived as belonging to their own class. [The data show that class sympathies and antipathies exist, and are in certain respects quite strong, but the issue is such a difficult one to get at that more intensive research is needed.

*Racial and Ethnic Prejudices* | There are no clear-cut differences between the middle and working classes in the manifestation of anti-Jewish prejudice.] Large majorities of both classes express unfavorable views toward the Jews. However, in the matter of anti-Negro prejudice the working class people are somewhat more anti-Negro than the middle class people. It is suggested that educational differences as well as economic differences may be the causal conditions for this finding.]

*Religion* : [There are so many unifying forces in American culture and society that it is no surprise to encounter, in areas beyond the most vital political and economic concerns, and in the sphere of life and thinking where traditional and long-established beliefs can flourish without much involvement of economic and political self-interest, and without obvious contradiction in personal experience, issues with respect to which social classes differ little or none at all. Religion is a good example.] The middle class affiliate and the working class affiliate alike typically aver that people in general do not take religion seriously enough. [The middle class is, nevertheless, definitely a stronger supporter of the church than is the working class in terms of actual church membership.] It cannot, however, be stated with any assurance that this represents a true psychological difference, for it may be merely a function of economic conditions which are different for the two classes.

*Women* : [The middle class appears to be somewhat more liberal than the working class with respect to the economic freedom of women. Several factors were suggested to account for this, among them being economic self-interest.]

*Success and Opportunity* | As a group the working class

shows less support than the middle class for such traditional American assumptions as that success depends upon ability, and that one's own children have as good an opportunity as anybody else's to get ahead in the world. With regard to this latter item, however, disillusion is much less marked, and the prevailing belief expressed in both classes is that opportunity is equal to all.]

*Satisfactions and Frustrations:* Americans, in the main, seem satisfied with the conditions of their lives and work. Yet, even with the conservative estimates the techniques of this study afford, it is plain that the working class as a group tends to be distinctly more frustrated than the middle class. More people who identify with the working class are dissatisfied with their jobs, their pay, their opportunities, and their chances to enjoy life.]

*Values and Desires:* With respect to values or desires the principal finding is that people in the middle class most typically manifest a desire for self-expression, while those who affiliate with the working class most typically express a desire for security. The interpretation offered is that security is a basic need of all, but since middle class people have typically already achieved a substantial measure of it they are emancipated from great concern with it and, unlike most working class people, can be dominated by other, and in a sense higher, values.]

### *The Problem of Determinants*

IN an attempt to evaluate the importance of various possible determinants of class consciousness, an analysis was made of the relationships between class identification and education, age, desires, satisfaction with job, satisfaction with pay, satisfaction with opportunities for advancement, satisfaction with chance to enjoy life, unemployment, nativity, church membership, "Protestantism," town size, section and other variables. The relationships of all these to conservatism-radicalism were likewise studied.

By means of the breakdown technique, or the method of contrasted groups, the influence of each of these variables

and the influence of occupational stratification were serially compared with respect to both class identification and conservatism-radicalism. In each case it was discovered that the variable in question influenced the variation in class identification and in conservatism-radicalism, but that such influence was less than that apparently due to occupational stratification itself.

Variations in class identification and conservatism-radicalism were present with each of the several variables, such as age, education, section, etc., though such variations were usually small. The question was raised as to whether even the apparent covariation found to exist might not be due to a common influence of socio-economic stratification on these several variables and class identification and conservatism-radicalism.

By means of a stratification score constructed for the purpose and the computation of several intercorrelations, a correlational analysis was made of the relationships between the several sociological and psychological variables, on the one hand, and class identification and conservatism-radicalism on the other. It was concluded as a result of this correlational study that socio-economic stratification was quite clearly the major condition related to class identification and conservatism-radicalism.

Variables that appear to have a relation to class identification of some consequence independently of socio-economic stratification are education and satisfaction with one's chances to enjoy life. Higher education tends to accompany identification with the upper and middle classes, as does a condition of being satisfied with one's chance to enjoy life.

Several variables appear to be related to conservatism-radicalism independently of the influence of socio-economic stratification. Conservatism in attitude was found positively related to being satisfied with one's pay, being satisfied with one's chance to enjoy life, being native born of native born parents, being a Protestant, living in a smaller town, and living in a section of the country other than the Northeast. The degrees of relationship were in most cases slight.

*Comments and Qualifications*

A MAN'S way of getting his livelihood dominates much of his waking life, and it is out of the forces acting upon him in this economic sphere that class consciousness has been seen to emerge. That it structures itself primarily around the economic self-interest born of status and role and the forces of economic circumstance is a wholly reasonable discovery.

But a man's thoughts and emotions are far from being the plaything of these forces alone. Not only are all the educational resources of his country bent to the effort to instill common attitudes, common loyalties, common beliefs—to imbue him, in short, with a common ideology—but he is deluged daily by the newspaper and radio with a propaganda steeped in the thinking and feeling overwhelmingly of a single class. The experts of his culture and those to whom he looks for leadership and guidance—the editors, the teachers, the physicians, the lawyers, the priests—are overwhelmingly identified with and possessed of the outlook of this same class. The people who govern the cities, the states and the nation itself are drawn, by and large, from it. Despite all these forces that should prevent it, Americans have become class conscious, and a part of them, calling themselves the working class, have begun to have attitudes and beliefs at variance with traditional acceptances and practices. It is far more surprising to find that class consciousness exists to the extent that it does than it is to find that it is as yet confined to a fairly narrow politico-economic compass and is even there only in the incipient stage. If the writer has at times seemed so impressed with the evidences for the existence of class consciousness that he has slighted those that deny it, it is only because the task set for himself was to explore his culture for manifestations of it and to point these out, and not because of a failure to see the limitations of those manifestations.

Class cleavage, even in the politico-economic sphere where it exists most strongly, as yet exists only as a sort of non-support and dissent of a class, and as an organized protest and struggle for mainly immediate and tangible goals by a

militant minority of that class. While this working-class group as represented in labor unions does constitute a definite social movement, it is as yet a class and a movement lacking in a clearly defined and well organized ideology and program in the sense and degree to which the middle class possesses these attributes and employs them to defend itself. Organized labor, as the vanguard of the working class, is, in its conflict with the employing and managing sectors of the middle and upper classes, strong enough, to be sure, to produce stoppage of the whole industrial machinery; it is as yet apparently not determined to take over control, but bent mainly upon wringing concessions and privileges and at most merely a share in control from those classes. To be sure, the handful of socialists and communists within the working class movement do aim at changes in control, and considerable numbers of the working class show themselves favorable to such changes, but these are as yet not a dominant or seriously threatening force.

Nor has there yet arisen in America, of course, any nationally significant political party with a working class program or backing such as the Labor Party in Britain and the various leftist parties in France and on the Continent. So far there are only stirrings and precursors of such political phenomena in the repeated support of Roosevelt's New Deal and in the political actions of the C.I.O.

But there has been found in this exploration the kind of crude and elemental class consciousness out of which time and events and the exhortations of agitators might make these things.



## APPENDIX I

### *Some Comparative Data: Class Consciousness in Sweden and France*

SINCE the completion of the main text of this book there has been made available to the archives of the Office of Public Opinion Research the results of some public opinion surveys carried out in Sweden and France by the Swedish Gallup Institute and the French Institute of Public Opinion respectively. The data have great interest, since they afford at least some crude comparisons with the materials gathered in America.

#### *Class Identifications in Sweden*

IN June 1943 the Swedish Gallup Institute asked a national cross section of Swedes: "Dividing the nation into four classes of society, the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, workers and those of similar standing, to which class do you consider that you belong?"

The results for this question are summarized in Tables 89 and 90. *As in America, the majority of people in Sweden identify themselves with the working class (or the workers).* Since no lower class was included, it is possible, of course, that some might have affiliated themselves to it had a question phrased exactly as that used in America been asked.

The comparatively large number of "don't know" replies is somewhat puzzling. It could mean that class consciousness is actually less definite in Sweden than in the United States, and if this is so it is not quite what one would expect in view of the general opinion that class structure tends to be more firmly crystallized in older countries. Sweden is, however, not a country where there are harsh extremes of wealth and poverty, and has become noted, more or less, for its liberal social legislation, often being described as a country practicing a "middle way" between free enterprise and collectivism. Perhaps such conditions may account for the apparent indetermination with respect to class affiliation. An alternate explanation is that Swedish people may be less willing than Americans to reveal affiliations of this sort. This study was carried out in 1943, at a time when the Swedish people lived with the constant threat of becoming in-

volved in war and all the manifold internal stresses produced by such a situation.

TABLE 89

Class Identifications of a National Representative Cross Section of Swedes and Class Identifications of Economic Strata in Sweden\*

	PER CENT WHO SAY				
	Upper Class	Upper Middle	Middle Class	Workers	Don't Know
National Total	1	3	24	57	15
<i>Economic Status</i>					
Higher Status	14	35	31	4	16
Middle Status	—	3	50	27	20
Lower Status	—	—	5	84	11

\* Data from the Swedish Gallup Institute.

TABLE 90

Class Identifications in Sweden: Urban-Rural Comparisons\*

	PER CENT WHO SAY				
	Upper Class	Upper Middle	Middle Class	Workers	Don't Know
Urban	1	5	27	55	12
Rural	—	2	22	59	17

\* Data from the Swedish Gallup Institute.

To the extent that the data are comparable, Table 89 indicates the same sort of relationship between economic stratification and class identification as that found for Americans (cf. Table 30). The persons of higher economic status are identified almost wholly with the upper and middle classes, while those of lower economic status are in the great majority of cases affiliated with the workers. Persons of middle economic status are recruited into affiliation with the workers in a substantial proportion of instances (27 per cent) also, but the majority identify themselves with the middle class. It is significant, too, that people of middle economic status show a greater percentage of "don't know" re-

plies, since it tends to strengthen the suggestion that class consciousness is somewhat less well structured in Sweden than in the U.S.A.

### Class Criteria

ANOTHER question asked by the Swedish Institute is of great interest also: "What do you think is the chief reason for the class distinctions which we have in this country?"

To Swedes, the most important things are money or income, education and occupation, in that order. The workers lay heaviest emphasis on money or income; the upper class stresses it much less. The middle class falls in between on it. An opposite relationship holds for education, for, whereas the workers stress it least of the three classes, the upper class emphasizes it almost as much as money or income. The middle class again falls in between.

TABLE 91

Reasons Given\* for the Existence of Class Distinctions in Sweden by the National Cross Section as a Whole, by the Several Social Classes and by Urban and Rural Residents†

Per Cent Saying	National Total	Upper Class	Middle Class	Workers	Urban	Rural
Money or Income	40	25	35	45	42	39
Education	10	23	12	8	12	9
Occupation or Profession	5	6	4	5	6	4
Rank and Position	5	8	6	4	6	5
Inherited Position	5	5	6	5	4	7
Other Answers	4	8	6	2	4	3
No Opinion	31	25	31	31	26	33

\* Q. "What do you think is the chief reason for the class distinctions which we have in this country?"

† Data from the Swedish Gallup Institute.

### Class Identifications in France

IN January 1947 the French Institute of Public Opinion asked this question of a representative cross section of Frenchmen: "Estimez-vous que vous appartenez à la classe riche, à la classe pauvre, à la classe moyenne plutôt riche ou à la classe moyenne plutôt pauvre?" (Do you regard yourself as belonging to the

rich [or wealthy or prosperous] class, the poor class, the upper middle class or to the lower middle class?)

Unfortunately, the French Institute phrased its question so much in terms of economic position that the question may be more the equivalent of asking a person to estimate his economic status than an index to class consciousness in the somewhat broader sense of *social class*. It is perhaps too much like asking a person if he thinks he is rich or poor to elicit more than the person's estimate of his financial status. However, there is no justification for jumping to a conclusion on this. French class consciousness may be highly structured around such distinctions, and *la classe riche*, *la classe pauvre*, etc., may be terms the people themselves use for their respective classes.

TABLE 92

Class Identifications of Frenchmen of Various Occupational Strata

	PER CENT				
	Wealthy	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	No Opinion
National Total (N=2,500)	1	20	56	19	4
<i>Occupational Stratum</i>					
Business	4	49	36	4	7
Professional	2	46	45	2	5
White Collar	—	13	72	12	3
Manual Workers	—	8	59	30	3
Farmers*	2	22	47	25	4
Persons of Private Income and Pensions	2	11	57	28	2

\* Makes no distinction as to whether owners, managers, tenants or laborers.

In Table 92 are shown results for the total cross section and for various occupational strata. Seventy-five per cent of Frenchmen belong in either the lower middle or poor classes, with the majority concentrated in the lower middle. The occupational affiliations indicate a similar concentration in the lower middle class. Yet they show large percentages of business and professional people identifying themselves with the upper middle and wealthy classes while the great majority of white collar and

TABLE 93

## Class Identifications of Frenchmen of Various Political Affiliations

Political Affiliation	Wealthy	PER CENT			
		Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	No Opinion
<i>Parti Républicain de la Liberté</i>	7	45	37	7	4
<i>Mouvement Républicain Populaire</i>	2	30	55	9	4
Coalition of the Left	2	29	57	10	2
Socialists	—	11	67	19	3
Communists	—	6	54	38	2

manual workers say they belong to either the lower middle or the poor classes, so that a cleavage along stratification lines is clearly evident.

The cleavage along political lines (Table 93) is also quite clear. People with the more rightist political views such as those of the *Parti Républicain de la Liberté* tend to be wealthy or upper middle class in the majority. Ninety-two per cent of communists, in contrast, are either lower middle or poor.

Valuable as such comparisons as these are, they are scarcely more than enough to whet one's appetite for more precise and thorough comparative research. Such study could be undertaken in several countries simultaneously, for already public opinion institutes have been set up in eight or ten important ones. Not only should class identification data be gathered, and with questions worded as nearly alike as practicable,<sup>1</sup> but attitudes and beliefs should be studied and compared in detail as well.

<sup>1</sup> Data secured since this writing strongly suggest that results on class identification remarkably similar to those obtained in this study may be expected when questions are similarly worded. In March 1946 the following results were obtained from a representative cross section of the population of the western zones of Occupied Germany in response to this question: "To which class would you say you belong: the upper class, the middle class, the workers' class, or the lower class?" (Cf. Tables 18 and 19).

Upper Class .....	2%
Middle class .....	42%
Workers' class .....	53%
Lower class .....	2%
Can't say .....	1%

## APPENDIX II

### *A Note on the Relation of Class and Status: A Critique of Some Recent Social Anthropological Research*

THE concept of class has often been confused or wholly identified with that of status or social position. Some theorists have regarded as essential the degree of prestige or esteem in which a group is held and have thus made classes essentially a gradation of social ranks. Some have also attempted to equate class with a social distance type of criterion, and have made their distinctions on a kind of associational basis. Thus, people who dance, eat and drink together, visit one another's homes and belong to the same clubs are said to belong to the same class. Some recent writers have combined this latter type of criterion with status, prestige, esteem, ranking, and so on to define their classes.

The researches of the social anthropologists such as W. Lloyd Warner, Paul S. Lunt, John Dollard, Allison Davis, the Gardners, and their school (12, 13, 15, 51, 52, 53, 54)<sup>1</sup> are based on this latter type of concept. Their definition of classes is primarily in terms of participation or association groups which appear, in turn, to be "structured" primarily along status or prestige or esteem lines. "By class," say Warner and Lunt, "is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." (52, p. 82)

They distinguish three main classes, upper, middle, and lower. These are in turn subdivided into upper and lower sections to give a total of six classes, respectively termed upper upper, lower upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, and lower lower. In establishing these, Warner and his co-workers relied upon the status and associational levels that could be distinguished in the social life of the community, but utilized in addition, not only their own criteria of social classes, such as economic status, education and behavior, but the evaluations of the citizens of Yankee City as well.

The essential method of this school in forming a judgment of the individual's "class" placement is summarized by the follow-

<sup>1</sup> These numerals relate to the same reference list as that for the main text.

ing quotation from Warner and Lunt: "All of the types of social structure and each of the thousands of families, thousands of cliques, and hundreds of associations were, member by member, interrelated in our research. With the use of all structural participation, and with the aid of such additional testimony as the area lived in, the type of house, kind of education, manners and other symbols of class, it was possible to determine very quickly the approximate place of the individual in the society. In the final analysis, however, individuals were placed by the evaluations of the members of Yankee City itself, e.g. by such explicit statements as 'she does not belong,' or 'they do not belong to our club.'" (52, p. 90)

To the writer what this seems to add up to is an evaluation of a man's *status* in terms of what the researchers and the citizens of Yankee City think of him and to very little more. The person's own affiliation, his own class identification, is ignored. But these researchers call the people who have similar social positions or rankings in the community and who associate on intimate terms, classes.

Inasmuch as the status and associational levels they describe have been at least roughly defined for two or three small towns (Yankee City had 17,000 people, Old City in *Deep South* had 10,000), there seems no reason to question their existence. But they may not hold at all as characterizations of the social life of large cities or even of cities twice the size of those studied. What is even more important than this, however, is that these status and associational levels may not correspond to real classes at all, at least in the interest group meaning of the term, since class groupings, class identifications and class interests may often or always transcend the more intimate face to face associational groupings these researchers have described. Since it has in no really convincing way been demonstrated that these status and associational groupings define the boundaries of classes at all, and since they may represent only status gradations either within or across class lines, to call them classes seems confusing and misleading.

The essential discovery of the Warner school, it appears to the writer, is, rather, some of the value bases for social rank, prestige, esteem, or status. The peculiar virtue of their studies is that they have attempted—and with some success—to get at a *social definition* of status in terms of what people themselves (rather than

social scientists) think of as high or low in our culture. This can only be commended.

*But it may be entirely possible for people of different status to belong to the same class. They may have common interests and values as well as a feeling of belonging together, even though they recognize differences of status among themselves, and even though they do not associate intimately with each other, or even if they dislike one another.*

Class and status, as the research reported in this volume clearly shows, are very closely and intimately related. The criteria for the various classes that appear in Chapter VI indicate that various kinds of social superiorities and inferiorities enter into people's conceptions of classes to a very great degree. There are indications in plenty that the person's own objective status, economic, occupational, etc., largely determines his class identification, and insofar as his objective position may be characterized as high or low, superior or inferior, the relation of status and class is made quite explicit again. But it has also been just as firmly established that something beyond such things as inferior or superior occupational role or inferior or superior wealth serves to recruit persons to social classes, so that it would be wholly an error on the part of anyone, social anthropologist or lay citizen either, to assign people to classes wholly on the basis of social inferiority and superiority and without any consideration of their own feelings of belongingness.

In neglecting class consciousness (i.e. class identification), which would appear to be by far the surest if not the only index to the structure of social classes, the Warner group commits essentially the same error as those who have defined some particular set of social *strata* as classes (cf. Chapter II). Just as "proletarians" or manual workers or business owners or professional persons are social strata rather than social classes, and just as wealthy people and poor people or employers and employees are not classes, but merely strata, so too, are the strata of status as distinguished by these researchers not classes.

The fact that Warner and his followers have sharply limited their contribution to a psychology of social classes by their neglect of class consciousness and their indifference to older and formative theories of class structure is in no sense to deny the value of their anthropological researches in contributing to our knowledge of social *status* in American life. The varieties of social rank and their bases are certainly worthy and needful of

exploration, and it is greatly to these writers' credit that, even though using certain objective criteria of their own in the process, they attempted to stratify people in a status hierarchy based at least partly on the esteem of their fellow citizens.

In the writer's view, one of the most important findings to emerge from these studies is that a person's social *position or status* as defined in this manner can be predicted with considerable accuracy from a knowledge of his occupation or his economic status. Warner and his colleagues in a recent publication (54) assert that, "If people were ranked on the basis of socio-economic status, the great majority of them, probably more than four-fifths, would have the same position relative to others that their social class gives them."

It was discovered in the Yankee City study that occupation shows a similarly high correlation with the social class position as defined by Warner and his school. Thus: "There is a high correlation between type of occupation and class position in Yankee City. If a person is a professional man or a proprietor he tends to be upper or middle class; if he is an unskilled worker he tends to be lower class. However, not all professional men are upper class and not all workers are lower class. Although clerks tend to be lower-middle class some of them are upper class and others are lower class.

"Class and occupation are closely interrelated, but it is a mistake to classify all professional people at the top of the heap and all workers at the bottom; far too many factors contribute to a person's social status for such arbitrary ranking to be exact and accurate." (52, p. 261)

## APPENDIX III: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE 94  
Educational Status of the Middle and Working Classes

	U R B A N		R U R A L	
	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class
N	390	432	76	129
<i>Percentage of Group Whose Educational Status Is:</i>				
6th Grade or Less	3.1	19.7	5.2	20.9
7th or 8th Grade	12.8	27.5	13.2	31.8
8th Grade plus Business, Trade or Technical Schooling	.8	.5	1.3	.8
<i>Total Grammar School</i>	16.7	47.7	19.7	53.5
High School, Non-graduate	15.1	24.5	28.9	21.7
High School, Graduate	18.0	17.1	19.7	15.5
High School plus Business, Trade or Technical Schooling	4.8	2.4	1.4	1.6
<i>Total High School</i>	37.9	44.0	50.0	38.8
College, Non-graduate	19.3	4.9	19.7	6.9
College, Graduate	15.6	2.3	6.7	.8
College plus Graduate Work	10.5	1.1	3.9	—
<i>Total College</i>	45.4	8.3	30.3	7.7

TABLE 95  
Economic Status of the Middle and Working Classes

	N	P E R C E N T			
		Wealthy	Average Plus	Average	Poor Plus
<i>Urban</i>					
Middle Class	391	7.2	24.0	40.2	16.1
Working Class	434	.9	3.0	19.1	34.1
<i>Rural</i>					
Middle Class	76	2.6	18.4	55.3	17.1
Working Class	129	.8	5.4	37.2	30.2

TABLE 96

Unemployment Experience of the Middle and Working Classes  
 Q11. About what was the longest time you were ever out of work?

	N	Never Unemployed	PER CENT	
			Unemployed Under One Year	Unemployed for a Year or More
<i>Urban</i>				
Middle Class	364	58	30	12
Working Class	390	38	39	23
<i>Rural</i>				
Middle Class	74	89	8	3
Working Class	121	82	16	2

TABLE 97

Economic or Standard of Living Status of Occupational Strata  
 (As Rated by Experienced Interviewers)

	N	Wealthy	PER CENT		
			Average Plus	Average	Poor Plus
National	1096	4.5	12.3	31.5	25.1
<i>Urban</i>					
A. All Business, Professional and White Collar	430	10.0	23.7	43.3	12.8
B. All Manual Workers ( <i>Detailed Groupings</i> for A and B)	413	—	1.9	14.0	37.8
1. Large Business	54	27.8	42.6	29.6	—
2. Professional	73	6.8	39.7	46.6	4.1
3. Small Business	131	17.6	26.7	39.7	11.4
4. White Collar	172	—	8.7	48.8	21.5
5. Skilled Manual	163	—	4.3	27.6	36.8
6. Semi-skilled	173	—	.6	6.4	42.2
7. Unskilled	77	—	—	2.6	29.9
<i>Rural</i>					
C. Farm Owners and Managers	153	3.3	13.1	48.4	24.8
D. Farm Tenants and Laborers	69	—	4.3	29.0	24.6
					42.1

# APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

7-19-45

## THE RESEARCH COUNCIL, Inc.

Box 428, Princeton, New Jersey

1. Do you agree or disagree that America is truly a land of opportunity and that people get pretty much what's coming to them here?

Agree       Disagree       Don't know  
 Other

2. Do you think that all the modern scientific inventions of new machines and materials will result in a better standard of living for all of us, or do you think that these things have been overrated?

Better standard of living       Overrated       Don't know

3. Would you say that on the whole people take religion too seriously, or that they don't take it seriously enough?

Too seriously       Not seriously enough       Don't know  
 Other

4. Would you agree that everybody would be happier, more secure and more prosperous if the working people were given more power and influence in government, or would you say we would all be better off if the working people had no more power than they have now?

Agree       No more power       Don't know  
 Other

5. As you know, during this war, many private businesses and industries have been taken over by the government. Do you think wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and that we would have fewer people out of work if the government took over and ran our mines, factories and industries in the future, or do you think things would be better under private ownership?

Better under government       Better under private owners  
 Other       Don't know

6. Which one of these statements do you most agree with?

(1) The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own.  
 (2) The most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living.

7. In strikes and disputes between working people and employers do you usually side with the workers or with the employers?

Workers       Employers       Neither       Won't say       Don't know  
 Qualified answer

8a. If you had a choice of one of these kinds of jobs which one would you choose? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT). Just call out the letter.

A       B       C       D       E       F       G       H       I       J

b. What is your second choice?

A       B       C       D       E       F       G       H       I       J

c. Would you like to make a third choice?

A       B       C       D       E       F       G       H       I       J

9a. What do you do for a living?.....

(If farmer, does he own or rent farm?)

ASK EMPLOYERS:

b. About how many people do you employ?.....

ASK SUPERVISORS, MANAGERS, ETC.:

c. About how many people do you have working under your direction? .....

ASK ONLY EMPLOYED PEOPLE:

10a. Do you sometime hope or expect to own your own business?

Yes       No       Don't know

If NO, ask:

b. Do you ever hope or expect to be a manager or executive of some kind?

Yes       No       Don't know       Doesn't apply

ASK EVERYONE:

11. About what was the longest time you were ever out of work?.....

(OVER)

12a. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your present job?

Satisfied       Dissatisfied       Other

If SATISFIED on a, ask:

b. What is it that you like about your job?.....

12b. DISSATISFIED on a, ask:

c. What is it that you don't like about your job?.....

ASK EVERYONE:

13. Do you think your pay or salary is as high as it should be, or do you think you deserve more?

High as should be       Deserve more       Don't know

14. Do you think working people are usually fairly and squarely treated by their employers, or that employers sometimes take advantage of them?

Fair treatment       Employers take advantage       Don't know

ASK EMPLOYEES ONLY:

b. What about your own treatment by your employer?

Fair treatment       Employer takes advantage       Don't know

ASK EVERYONE:

15. Do you think you have a good chance to get ahead in your present line of work?

Yes       No       Don't know

16a. Do you belong to a union?

Yes       No

b. Do you think belonging to a union usually hurts people's chances for advancement in their jobs, makes no difference, or helps their chances for advancement?

Hurts chances       Makes no difference       Helps       Don't know

Other.....

17. Would you say that your children had just as good a chance, a poorer, or a better chance to rise in the world as anybody else?

Just as good       Poorer       Better       Don't know

18. Do you think you have as good a chance to enjoy life as you should have?

Yes       No       Don't know

19. Do you think woman's place should be in the home or do you think women should be free to take jobs outside the home if they want them?

In the home       Outside       Don't know

Other.....

20. Here's a list of several groups of people: (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

a. Are there any on that list that you think get too much pay? Just call out the letters.....

b. Are there any of those who don't get enough pay?.....

21a. Do you think most people who are successful are successful because of ability, luck, pull, or the better opportunities they have had?

Ability       Luck       Pull       Better opportunities       Don't know

b. Is this the way you think it ought to be?

Yes       No       Don't know

If NO on b, ask:

c. What should success depend on then?.....

22a. Why do you think some people have been able to get rich, because of ability, luck, pull, their better opportunities, or something else? (If something else, ask what.)

Ability       Luck       Pull       Better opportunities       Don't know

Other.....

b. Why do you think some of the people are always poor?.....

22a. If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in; the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?

Middle       Lower       Working       Upper       Don't know

b. Which of these in this list would you say belonged in the.....class (whichever respondent has chosen) (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT). Just call out the letters.

A       B       C       D       E       F       G       H       I       J       K

e. In deciding whether a person belongs to your class or not, which of these other things do you think is most important to know - who his family is, how much money he has, what sort of education he has, or how he behaves and feels about certain things?  
 Family     Money     Education     Beliefs     Don't know     Other

24a. What would you say puts a person in the upper social class? .....  
.....

b. What would you say puts a person in the lower social class? .....  
.....

25a. Now, I'd like you to pick out from the statements on this card the one that best describes the way you feel about negroes? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT).  
 A     B     C     D     Don't know

b. How strongly do you hold this opinion, very strongly, fairly strongly, or don't you care one way or the other?  
 Very strongly     Fairly strongly     Don't care

26. Do you think that the Jews have too much power and influence in this country?  
 Yes     No     Don't know

### FACTUAL

27a. Are you a member of a church?     Yes     No

b. Which denomination? .....

28a. Whom did you vote for in the last presidential election?  
 Dewey     Roosevelt     Other     Didn't vote

b. What political party did your father usually support?  
 Republican     Democratic     Other

c. What party did your mother support?  
 Republican     Democratic     Other

29a. Do you remember the name of the school you last attended? .....

b. What was the last grade you completed in that school?  
 No school     Completed high school  
 Grades 1-6     Had some college  
 Grades 7-8     College graduated  
 Grades 9-11     College post graduate  
 Other .....

30a. Could you tell me how far your father went in school? .....

b. If you have a son or had one, how far would you expect him to go in school? .....

c. How about a daughter? .....

31a. In what country were you born? .....

b. In what country was your father born? .....

c. In what country was your mother born? .....

32a. What was or is your father's occupation? .....

b. What was or is your father-in-law's occupation? .....

33. May I ask your age? .....

Economic Status:     Wealthy     Average     Poor  
                           Average plus     Poor plus     On relief

Date of interview ..... City and State .....

Interviewer .....

HAVE YOU CHECKED ANSWERS ON EACH QUESTION AND ALL VITAL INFORMATION?    No    5000

## Question 8

If you had a choice of one of these kinds of jobs which one would you choose?

- A. A job where you could be a leader.
- B. A very interesting job.
- C. A job where you would be looked upon very highly by your fellow men.
- D. A job where you could be boss.
- E. A job which you were absolutely sure of keeping.
- F. A job where you could express your feelings, ideas, talent, or skill.
- G. A very highly paid job.
- H. A job where you could make a name for yourself—or become famous.
- I. A job where you could help other people.
- J. A job where you could work more or less on your own.

(OVER)

## Questions 20 and 23b:

- A. Big business owners and executives.
- B. Small business owners and operators.
- C. Factory workers.
- D. Office workers.
- E. Doctors and lawyers.
- F. Servants.
- G. Farmers.
- H. Laborers such as miners, truck drivers, and shopworkers.
- I. Store and factory managers.
- J. Waiters and bartenders.
- K. Salesmen.

(OVER)

## Question 25a

Now I'd like you to pick out from the statements on this card the one that best describes the way you feel about Negroes?

- A. I believe Negroes should have more opportunities than they do now.
- B. Because Negroes are so different from white people as a race, I believe they should not be allowed to mix with whites in any way.
- C. Although Negroes should not be mistreated by whites, the white race should always keep its superior position.
- D. I believe Negroes should have the same privileges and opportunities as white people.

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# INDEX

Adams, W. A., 239  
age, class identification and, 161, 165, 167f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 165, 167f, 203; stratification, 13  
Anderson, E. L., 237  
Anderson, H. D., 237  
antipathies, of social classes, 141f, 214  
aristocracy, 18  
Aristotle, 16  
artisans, 20  
belongingness, 27  
biasing factors, 36-38  
bourgeoisie, 18f, 24; great, 18; non-industrial, 18; petty, 18  
British Labor Party Victory, 36, 138-39  
Bukharin, N., 21-22, 237  
business class, 26  
Cantril, H., 10, 11, 15, 30f, 163, 237, 239  
capitalists, 17-18  
Cattell, R. B., 237  
census, 38  
church membership, 161, 181f, 203  
class affiliation, *see* class identification  
class conflict, 3f, 16f; intra-class, 18; teachers and, 4  
class consciousness, 21f, 74f; concept of, 33; economic status and, 109f; occupation and, 107f; power stratification and, 111  
class criteria, 89f, 226; for own class, 89f, 94f; lower class, 95f; middle class, 97f; stratum and class differences in, 102; upper class, 94-95; working class, 100f  
class differences: antipathies, 141f, 214; belief in opportunity, 146f, 215; desires, 151f, 216; dissatisfactions, 148f, 216; prejudices, 143f, 215; religion, 144f, 215; role of women, 145f, 215; satisfactions, 148f, 216; success, 146f, 215; sympathies, 141f, 214; values, 151f, 216  
class identification, church membership and, 161, 181f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 114, 118f; conservatives' and radicals', 134; economic status and, 114, 195f; education and, 161, 163f, 203; father's occupation and, 179f; in France, 223f; in Germany, 225; in Sweden, 221f; marriage relations and, 179f; nativity and, 161, 181f, 203; occupational status and, 85f, 107f, 144, 209; political behavior and, 114, 124; power status and, 114, 191f; Protestantism and, 161, 184f, 203; satisfaction with advancement and, 161, 170f, 203; satisfaction with enjoyment of life and, 161, 170f, 203; satisfaction with job and, 161, 170f, 203; satisfaction with pay and, 161, 170f, 203; section and, 161, 188f, 203; significance of, 74; stratification score and, 114, 196f, 203; town size and, 161, 185f, 203; treatment by employer and, 177; unemployment and, 161, 177f, 203; union affiliation and, 115  
class recruitment, 12, 102, 128, 210  
classes: characteristics of, 210f; lower, 214; middle, 212-13; upper, 211; working, 213-14  
concepts of, 12f; middle class, 53; objective, 21f, 23f; working class, 53  
definitions of, 78f; middle class, urban and rural, 88f; working class, urban and rural, 88f  
economic status of, 230  
education of, 230  
occupational composition of, 81-83  
status and, 226f  
unemployment of, 230  
Cole, C. D. H., 237  
conservatism-radicalism, church membership and, 161, 181f, 203; class differences in, 126f; economic status and, 112, 195f; education and, 161, 163f, 203; desires and, 161, 168f, 203; father's occu-

pation and, 179f; marriage relations and, 179f; nativity and, 161, 181f, 203; occupational status and, 55f, 65, 208; political behavior and, 114; power status and, 113, 191f; Protestantism and, 161, 184f, 203; satisfaction with advancement and, 161, 170f, 203; satisfaction with enjoyment of life and, 161, 174f, 203; satisfaction with job and, 161, 170f, 203; satisfaction with pay, 161, 170f, 203; section and, 161, 188f, 203; stratification score and, 114, 198f, 203; town size and, 161, 185f, 203; treatment by employer and, 177; unemployment and, 161, 177f, 203; union affiliation and, 115

conservatism-radicalism scale, 38f; internal consistency, 42f; validity, 42f

Corey, L., 237

Crespi, L., 163, 237

cross section, characteristics of, 34

Davidson, P. E., 237

Davis, A., 226, 237

Davis, K., 15, 237

desires, class identification and, 151f, 161, 168f, 203, 216; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 168f, 203

discontent, 30

dissatisfactions, of social classes, 148f, 216

Dollard, J., 9, 226, 237

economic alignments, *see* union affiliation

economic status, concept of, 13-14; conservatism-radicalism and, 195f; of classes, 195f, 230; of occupational strata, 231; stratification score and, 114; union affiliation and, 115

education, class identification and, 161, 163f, 203, 230; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 163f, 203

Edwards, A. M., 237

elite, 23

Engels, F., 17, 239

Fairchild, H. P., 237

father's occupation, class identification and, 179f; conservatism-radicalism and, 179f

foremen, management-worker identifications of, 194f

*Fortune* surveys, 30f, 76, 240

France, class identifications in, 223

French Institute of Public Opinion, 221f

frustrations, 148f, 216

Gallup, G., 30, 237

Gardner, B. B., 226, 237

Gardner, M. R., 226, 237

Garrett, H. E., 43, 64, 238

Germany, class identifications in, 225

Gerth, H. H., 238

Ginsberg, M., 238

great bourgeoisie, 17-18

group consciousness, 74f

Guilford, J. P., 238

Hartmann, G. W., 238

Havighurst, R. J., 240

Hinshaw, R. P., 46, 238

identification, *see* class identification

intellectual class, 26

interest group theory, 26, 28-29, 206

intermediate class, 22

interview schedule, 232f

intra-class conflict, 18

job satisfaction, class identification and, 161, 170f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 170f, 203

Johnson, A., 238

Jones, A. W., 9, 238

Junker, B. H., 239

Katz, D., 37, 238

Kautsky, K., 238

Kornhauser, A. W., 10, 11, 15, 30, 238

laboring class, 32; previous findings, 32, 76

labor-management conflict, 3f

Landtman, G., 238

leisure class, 26

Loeb, M. B., 240

Lorwin, L. L., 238

lower class, characteristics of, 213; criteria for membership, 95f; occupational composition, 81; previous findings, 31f, 76

lower lower class, 226

lower middle class, 20, 226

lower upper class, 226  
*Lumpenproletariat*, 20-21  
 Lunt, P. S., 226, 239, 240  
 Lynd, Helen M., 9, 15, 33, 53, 238  
 Lynd, R. S., 8-10, 15, 33, 53, 238  
 management-labor conflict, 3f  
 management-worker identifications of foremen, 194f  
 marriage relations, class identification and, 179f; conservatism-radicalism and, 179f  
 Marx, K., 15-16, 26, 75, 238  
 masses, 23  
 McConnell, A. W., 10, 15, 23, 238  
 middle class, characteristics of, 211-12; concept of, 53; criteria for membership, 97f; occupational composition, 82; previous findings, 30f, 76; urban and rural definitions of, 88f  
 Mills, C. W., 238  
 Mombert, P., 23, 24, 239  
 National Association of Manufacturers, 5  
 nativity, class identification and, 161, 181f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 181f, 203  
 Negroes, 34-35  
 Newcomb, T., 238  
 objective concepts of social classes, 21f, 23  
 occupational composition, of social classes, 78f; of lower class, 81; of middle class, 82; of upper class, 80; of working class, 83  
 occupational stratification, class identification and, 85f, 107f, 209; concept of, 14; conservatism-radicalism and, 55f, 65, 208; economic status and, 231; political behavior and, 208; stratification score and, 114; union affiliation and, 115, 209  
 Office of Public Opinion Research, 34, 207, 221  
 Opinion Research Corporation, 194  
 opportunity, 146f, 215  
 Pareto, V., 23, 239  
 pay, satisfaction with, 161, 170f, 203  
 Pear, T. H., 239  
 peasant, 20  
 Peters, C. C., 239  
 Plato, 16, 23  
 political behavior, 44f; class identification and, 114-15, 124, 130; conservatism-radicalism and, 46, 114-15; economic status and, 114-15; occupational strata differences, 64f, 107f, 114-15, 130, 208; of father, 68; of mother, 69; power status and, 114-15; stratification score and, 114-15  
 political stratification, concept of, 14  
 power stratification, class identification and, 111, 191f; conservatism-radicalism and, 113, 191f; stratification score and, 114; union affiliation and, 115  
 prejudices, 143f, 215  
 prestige, 227  
 previous findings, 30f; laboring class, 32, 76; lower class, 31f, 76; middle class, 30f, 76; upper class, 31f, 76; working class, 32, 76  
 professional class, 26  
 proletariat, 17, 18f, 24  
 propertied class, 26  
 Protestantism, 161, 184f, 203  
 psychological view of class, 26f  
 radicalism, *see* conservatism-radicalism  
 radicals, class identifications of, 134  
 Rae, S. F., 237  
 railroad strike, 5f  
 redistribution of wealth, 30  
 religion, 144f, 215  
 Rugg, D., 163, 237  
 ruling class, 20, 22  
 Rundquist, E. A., 239  
 rural and urban, definitions of middle class, 88f; definitions of working class, 88f; differences in attitude and class identification, 117f  
 salaried work, as basis for class distinctions, 101f  
 sampling, method, 34f  
 satisfaction, 30, 148f, 216; with advancement, 161, 170f, 203; with enjoyment of life, 161, 170f, 203; with job, 161, 170f, 203; with pay, 161, 170f, 203  
 section, class identification and, 161, 188f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 188f, 203

Seligman, E. R. A., 238  
 sex stratification, 13  
 Sherif, M., 194  
 significance of class identifications, 74f  
 Simpson, G., 239  
 Sletto, R. F., 239  
 social classes, Marxian theory of, 16; nature of, 210f; objective concepts of, 21f; subjective concepts of, 21f  
 social context, 3f  
 social definitions of classes, 78f  
 social position, concept of, 15, 226  
 social rank, 226  
 Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 9, 238  
 socio-economic stratification, 13-14  
 Sorokin, P., 12-14, 24f, 26, 50, 239  
 standard of living level, class consciousness and, 109f; conservatism-radicalism and, 112  
 status, concept of, 26, 226; and class, 14, 226f  
 stratification, age, 13; class identification and, 191, 195-96, 203; concept of, 12f; conservatism-radicalism and, 191, 195-96, 203; economic, 13-14, 195f; occupational, 13-14, 195f; political, 13-14; power, 191f; sex, 13; socio-economic, 13-14; variables, 47f  
 stratification score, 50f, 196f, 203; class affiliation and, 114; conservatism-radicalism and, 144; economic status and, 114; occupational status and, 114; political behavior and, 144; power status and, 114; union affiliation and, 115  
 stratum, 27  
 stratum and class differences, in conservatism-radicalism, 126f; in political behavior, 130  
 Strole, L., 240  
 success, 146f, 215  
 Sweden, class identification in, 221f  
 Swedish Gallup Institute, 221, 223  
 sympathies, of social classes, 141f, 214  
 teachers, and class conflict, 4  
 techniques, 34f  
 Thouless, R. H., 75-76, 239  
 town size, class identification and, 161, 185f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 185f, 203  
 transition classes, 22  
 treatment by employer, class identification and, 177; conservatism-radicalism and, 177  
 Truman, H. S., 5f  
 unemployment, class identification and, 161, 177f, 203; conservatism-radicalism and, 161, 177f, 203; experience of classes, 231  
 union affiliation, class identification and, 70f, 115; conservatism-radicalism and, 115; economic status and, 115; occupational status and, 115; power status and, 115; stratification score and, 115  
 upper class, characteristics of, 210; occupational composition of, 80; previous findings, 31f, 76  
 upper lower class, 226  
 upper middle class, 226  
 upper upper class, 226  
 urban and rural, definitions of middle class, 88f; definitions of working class, 88f; differences in attitudes, 117f; differences in class identification, 117f  
 values, class differences, 151f, 216  
 Van Voorhis, W. R., 239  
 Veblen, T., 33, 239  
 voting, *see* political behavior  
 Wallace, J. M., Jr., 239  
 Ward, L., 239  
 Warner, W. L., 9, 26, 226, 239, 240  
 Wason, R. M., 5  
 wealthy class, 26  
 white collar work, as basis for class distinctions, 101f  
 Whitney, A., 7  
 Williams, F. W., 239  
 women, 35; role of, 145f, 215  
 working class, characteristics of, 212-13; concept of, 53; occupational composition of, 83; previous findings, 32, 76f; urban and rural definitions, 88f  
 Young, K., 240  
 Zimmerman, C. C., 24f, 26, 239

